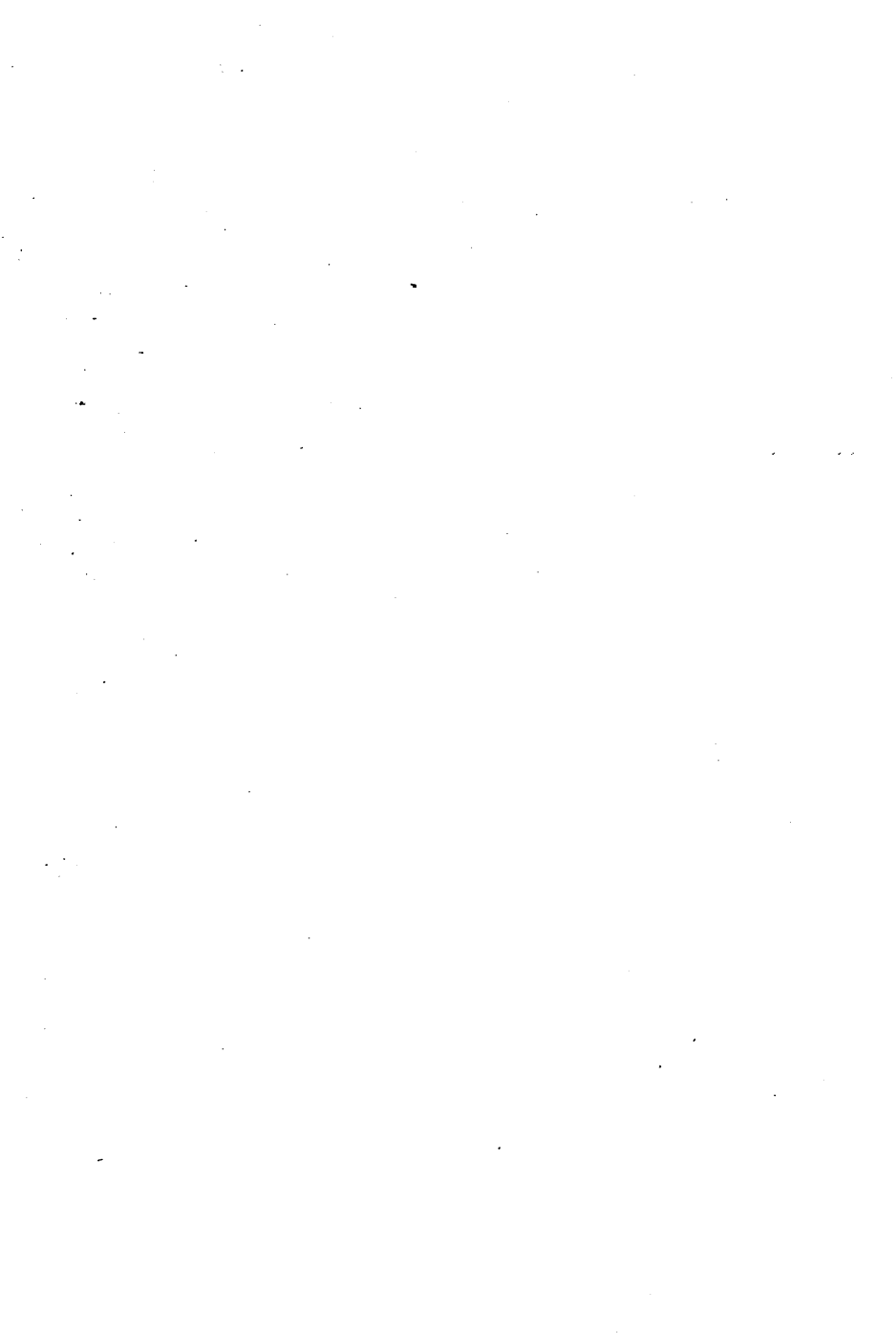
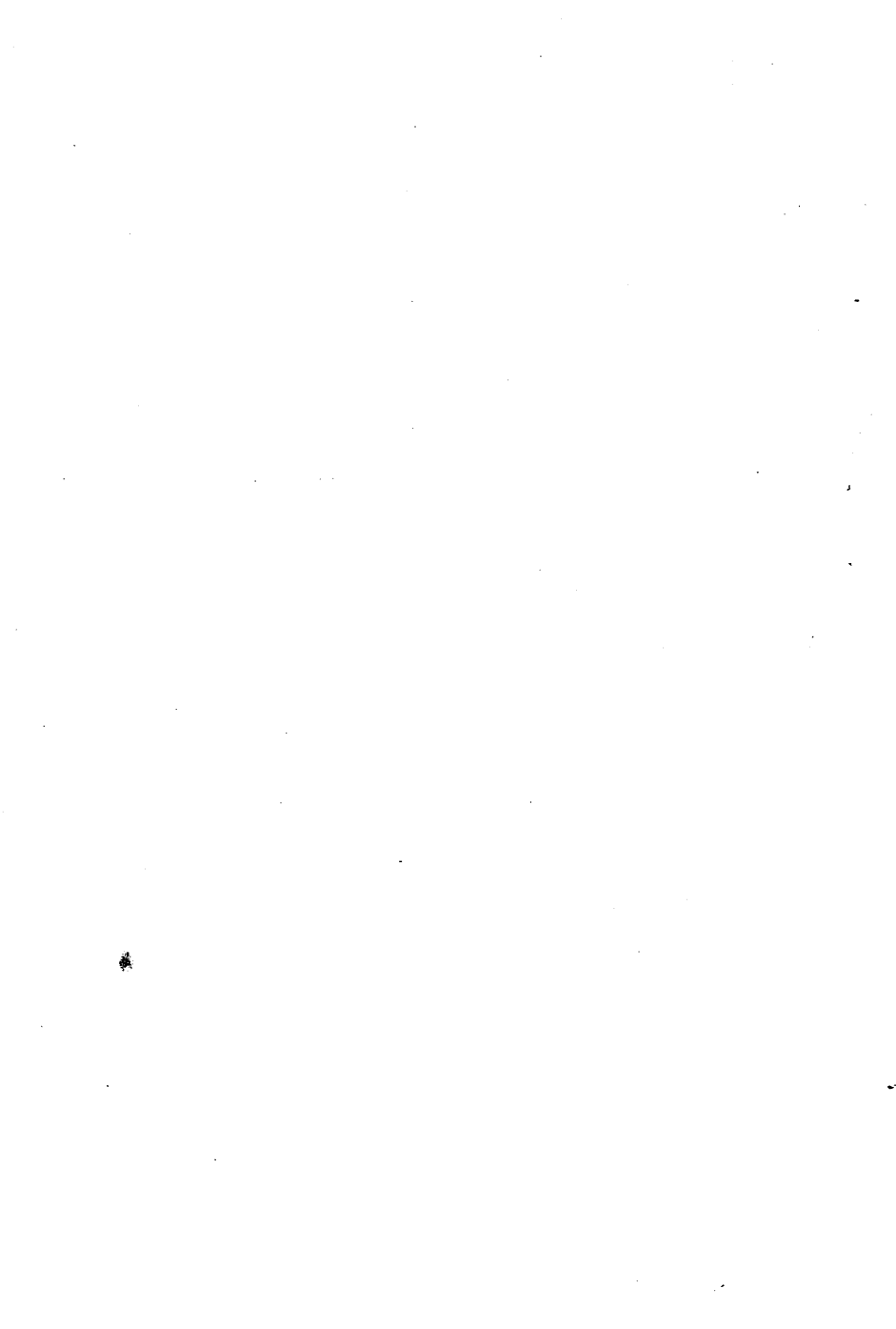


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**THE RECORD
OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE**



THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

together with

THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

being

A Reconstruction of the Sources of
THE FOURTH GOSPEL

by

E. S. HOERNLE, I.C.S.

Sometime Scholar of Winchester
and New College, Oxford

BASIL BLACKWELL
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THE HYMN OF THE DISCIPLE

O LOVED and loving Master,
Who serve Thee find release
From every bond and burden,
In Joy and Love and Peace,
A Strength that overcometh
All sorrow and all pain,
A Mankhood never yielding
To count of loss or gain.

O Light upon the Darkness,
O Fountain in the Waste,
The Bread of Life Eternal,
For hungry hearts to taste !
An Inn for way-worn pilgrims,
Where all can find a rest,
And unto little children
A loving Father's breast.

O Door that we can enter,
Kind Warden at the Gate,
A Fold to welcome weary lambs
And feet that wander late !
O Voice of the Good Shepherd—
Leader, Comrade, Friend—
O Life laid down that we may live !
O Love that cannot end !

With Peter we deny Thee—
Can we with Peter cry,
“Thou knowest that I love Thee” ?
Can we with Peter die ?—
Yet, though we fail and falter,
And know not what we do,
Forgiving, unrebuking,
Thou callest us anew.

A Comforter Eternal,
A Voice—if we but hear—
Of Truth and Power in every hour
To calm each doubt and fear.
O Heart of Loving-kindness
For all who faint and fall,
Father, Son and Spirit, One
In Love enfolding all !

FOREWORD

IN the spring of 1927 I was attacked by an illness which, while it incapacitated me for official duties, left my mind sufficiently active to require employment; and in an idle moment I took up "the Gospel according to St. John."

I had always been puzzled by the contrast which it presents between accounts of very material miracles and passages of supreme spiritual beauty; and as I re-read it, that bewilderment increased. It seemed to me as if the Gospel spoke with two different voices; and suddenly the thought flashed on me, "What if it is in fact a compilation from two different sources?"

As I hunted on the track of that thought, point after point struck me: obvious disarrangements of the narrative, perplexing discrepancies. And then another contrast came forcibly to my mind: between passages whose lucidity is as remarkable as their beauty, and others in which, though their individual verses seem to bear the same stamp of style, the connection of thought seems slender and involved. This also suggested the work of a compiler; and I set out to see if I could discover the material and the method of the compilation, if such it was.

It was not unknown to me that scholars had found many difficulties in the Gospel. But I thought it best to work at first on independent lines, letting the investigation carry me where it would, without burdening my mind with the task of weighing rival theories.

Not, then, till I had arrived at the main conclusion set forth in this book—that the Gospel is the result of interweaving with the authentic Record of the Loved Disciple a narrative of lesser value, both spiritual and historical—did I check my results with the aid of other essays; notably Wendt's "The Fourth Gospel," and the relevant chapters of Dr. Streeter's "The Four Gospels." I owe a debt to such studies, and especially to the scholars named. But frankly I have

FOREWORD

found in them more to corroborate than to contradict my views, widely though their conclusions differ from my own.

It may, I fear, seem presumptuous for an amateur to pit himself against professional theologians of repute ; but I can only plead that nothing is so striking about their researches as the extreme divergence of their findings. They cover the widest range of opinion, from a belief that the whole Gospel was written by John the Son of Zebedee to a theory that it is the work of a far later author, in which the element of genuine tradition is almost insignificant as compared with the products of his own imagination. Clearly they cannot all be right : they may well all be wrong, in the sense that they do not really solve the problems that it raises. And thus I am emboldened to offer my solution.

My researches were carried out in the scant leisure hours permitted by a heavy district charge : the book has been written in a short period of leave. It is necessarily imperfect ; and indeed, my only excuse for publishing now is that, believing that I had something to say worth saying, I felt it would be cowardly to refrain for fear of an accusation of presumption ; and I may never again have time for the task. I wish in no way to stifle criticism of my main conclusions, but I hope that readers will forgive certain evidences of haste and crudities of expression.

I am deeply indebted to Nestle's "Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine" (Stuttgart, 1906), which contains an extraordinary amount of information on the critical question within a convenient compass.

And in conclusion I must thank Mr. Basil Blackwell for undertaking the publication ; the Rev. V. J. K. Brook, who offered some kindly criticism which led me to make an eleventh-hour revision ; and last, but by no means least, my wife, without whose unfailing sympathy and understanding the book could never have been written.

E. S. H.

CLIFTON,
October 1930.

NOTE

THOSE who are interested in results rather than with the method of arriving at them are advised to read pp. 1-11 of the Introduction and then the special prefaces and texts from p. 87 onwards.

It will also help scholars if they read the texts before studying the discussion (in pp. 12-76) of the process by which the Fourth Gospel came to assume its present form.

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THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. THE PURPOSE OF INVESTIGATION

THIS book is not addressed to those many Christians who, believing that the Fourth Gospel was written in its present form by St. John, the Son of Zebedee, have found in it a never-failing source of inspiration. I would wound no sentiments: I would shatter no convictions. And if anyone, to whom the critical examination of passages, the search for sources, the weighing of evidence, seem sacrilegious and distasteful, should take up this book, I would say to him, "Lay it down and read no more."

It is addressed to the many clerics and laymen who have been puzzled by certain features of the Gospel, and, even if they have not studied any of the vast literature about them, are aware that there are "Johannine problems." These, bearing in mind the great enrichment of our knowledge of the Old Testament which has resulted from the labours of scholars such as Dr. Driver, will readily admit that research and criticism may be constructive of faith, rather than destructive.

The trend of modern criticism—or at least of several influential schools of thought—has been to cast doubts upon the value of the Fourth Gospel as a true historical record of our Lord's life. It is suggested that no part of the Gospel justifies the claim put forward in it that it was written by "the disciple whom Jesus loved, who lay in his bosom at the Supper"; but that the book is in fact imaginative fiction, of however great a spiritual value.

Let me quote from a popular work, which must have reached a very wide circle of readers—Professor Bacon's "The Making

of the New Testament" in the Home University Library series (conclusion of chapter ix) :

"The Fourth Gospel . . . is an application to the Story of Jesus, as tradition reported it, of the Pauline incarnation doctrine formulated under the Stoic Logos theory. It represents *a study in the psychology of religion* applied to the person of Christ. Poor as Paul himself in knowledge of the outward Jesus, *unfamiliar with really historical words and deeds*, its doctrine about Jesus became . . . the truest exposition of the heart of Christ." (The italics are mine.)

In short, so Professor Bacon would have us think—and he is only one of many who have published such or similar views—the picture which the Gospel presents of Jesus's Passion, the glorious prayer in chapter xvii, are but an imaginative reconstruction of the manner in which a hero *might have* borne himself, and of the words which he *might have* uttered, as his doom drew nigh.

That really is, I think, destructive criticism. In such a view, not only is the claim of authorship a falsehood, but it is difficult to see what guarantee we have that the writer's work, however spiritual or artistically convincing, is in fact (and not merely in appearance) a true "exposition of the heart of Christ." And is it not really an argument in a circle? Our idea of "the heart of Christ" is, to an extent of which we may be unaware, derived from "the Gospel of Love": the portrait drawn by the author of that Gospel is (so such a theory indicates) to be regarded as spiritual, though not literal, truth, because it accords with our idea. But by what standard but its own are we to measure the truth that lies in the Loved Disciple's picture of his Master?

Yet doubts of the historical truth (as opposed to the spiritual truth) of the Gospel narrative are expressed, not only by writers of this school of thought, but by many who accept the Johannine authorship, or at least believe that the Gospel was written by one who really had "lain in Jesus's bosom at the Supper." Those doubts are forced upon them by the fact—indisputable unless we are to abandon all ordinary canons of evidence—that the narrative is again and again in positive conflict with the tradition recorded in the first three Gospels. If we accept the Johannine story as history,

then the Synoptic version cannot be relied on. There is no honest escape from that conclusion. And so it is suggested that St. John did not present his story as the *literal* truth—it was allegory, it was mysticism, it was the great drama of Jesus as conceived in the vision of a prophet.

“His vivid sense of actuality, the artistic powers which are part of his psychic constitution, help to build up and elaborate the picture of the events upon which he broods. He sees this picture, in that strong light and with that sharp definition which are peculiar to visionary states. He has not produced it by any voluntary process: it surges up from his deeper mind, as do the concepts of the artist, invading that field of consciousness which his state of meditation has kept in a mood of tense yet passive receptivity. So real it is to him, so authoritative, so independent of his deliberate efforts, that the transition is easy from ‘Thus it must have been’ to ‘Thus it was.’”—From Evelyn Underhill’s “The Mystic Way,” pp. 235 ff.

Beautifully as this thought is expressed, is it really a satisfactory explanation of the difficulty? If the writer of the Gospel never lived with Jesus, never witnessed with the bodily eye the Ministry and Passion, the fact that he wrote with the intense conviction of a seer does not make his work historical. And if he *did* witness the Ministry and Passion, why should this supreme artist record, not what he remembered to have happened, but what a mystic imagination dictated to him? Is the Synoptic story so poor in drama that it needs to be wholly transmuted in a fiery crucible, rather than illustrated with that vividness of detail which an eyewitness could offer?

This view of the author as a mystic cannot be fairly called destructive, at any rate in aim. It seeks to fortify our faith, to calm our doubts, by substituting for the unimpassioned record of an historian the flaming vision of a seer. But it will never satisfy the desire—and is it an unworthy or ignoble desire?—to know what Jesus really said and did.

And some at least may ask themselves whether there is not some other explanation of the difficulties of the Gospel which is compatible with the view that the Disciple wrote the literal truth about his Master, an explanation which will satisfy not only the imagination but the intellect?

2. THE PROBLEM

To the reader, then, who accepts that there is a problem, and desires a solution, I begin by putting the following questions—a few only of many that suggest themselves :

(1) Why is the Cleansing of the Temple connected with the opening of the ministry (chap. ii.) against the unanimous testimony of the first three Gospels that it took place in Passion Week ?

(2) In chapters ii. and v. Jesus pays visits to Jerusalem. How, then, do his brethren, at the opening of chapter vii., advise him in words which imply that he had never been there ?

(3) In chapters xii., xiii. and xiv. the Disciples are plainly warned of Jesus's approaching death, and Peter (xiii. 36) asks him, "Whither goest thou ?" while Thomas (xiv. 5) implies a similar inquiry. Yet in chapter xvi. 5 Jesus rebukes them because no man puts this question, and they are represented as incapable of understanding his danger. Is not this strange ?

(4) How is it that, although the account of the Passion in the Fourth Gospel is on the whole much fuller than those of Matthew, Mark and Luke, it omits such a necessary link in the narrative as the preparation of the Last Supper, and says nothing of so important an event as the institution of the Holy Sacrament ?

(5) At the end of chapter xiv. Jesus says at the Supper table, "Arise. Let us go hence" ; and in chapter xviii. 1 he enters the Garden. Where, then, were the Discourses in chapters xv., xvi. and xvii. spoken, and on what occasion ?

(6) Is it not curious that "the miraculous draught of fishes," which, according to the Third Gospel (Luke v.), occurred at the outset of the Ministry, is placed by the Fourth after the Resurrection ?

If, after verifying these points, the reader is willing to concede that there may have been some distortion of the original order of the narrative, and possibly some loss of leaves, but is still under the impression that the Gospel is the work of a single writer, then I ask him to consider certain further points.

How would he reconcile such statements in the mouth of Jesus as, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not

true" (v. 31), and "Though I bear witness of myself, my witness is true" (viii. 14); or, "I came not to judge the world" (xii. 47), and "For judgment I am come into the world" (ix. 39)?

How comes Jesus, represented in the Passion narrative as the very incarnation of Love and true friendship, to be also pictured as capable of deliberately letting a beloved friend die—to the great grief and anguish of his sisters—simply in order to have an opportunity of manifesting his supernatural powers, and as actually rejoicing at such an opportunity (xi. 4, 15)?

Once more, the narrative up to the end of chapter xi. is one long series of miraculous occurrences, some of which are not recorded by the Synoptists, while in others the supernatural element is elaborated and intensified. For example, Jesus not only walks upon the waters, but the moment he enters into the boat (some three miles from shore, as the evangelist is careful to explain) it is "immediately at the land" (vi. 21). But in the account of the Crucifixion, Burial and Resurrection, the miraculous element of the Synoptic versions, so far from being heightened, as in the apocryphal gospels, is altogether omitted! There is no darkness over the land or rending of the veil of the Temple at Jesus's passing; no earthquake or agency of angels to roll away the stone that sealed his tomb.

In the Discourses the dominant note is that men should believe in his Word, and in the Truth, as God's revelation; and at his trial before Pilate it is on this that he insists: "For this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth" (xviii. 37). There is no mention of supernatural powers here or even at the trial before Caiaphas ("The high priest questioned him about his doctrine and his disciples"—xviii. 19); although elsewhere we have been told again and again that it was by miracles that he induced belief, and that for his miracles the Priests and Pharisees were seeking his death.

It is no matter of mere verbal contradictions, but of an immense difference of spiritual atmosphere. And, as we know from the Synoptic tradition, so far from seeking to convince by miracles, Jesus made every effort to avoid the danger that his reputation as a miracle-worker might obscure his true mission. Thus in the Second Gospel, when Jesus healed

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the blind man (Mark viii. 22), he did not, as in the Fourth, declare that the man was born blind "That the works of God might be made manifest in him" (surely a strange view of God's mercy), but strictly charged him, "Neither go into the town nor tell it to any in the town."

Then, to consider evidence of a rather different character, I would ask the reader to look at "The Good Shepherd" (x. 1-16), and then to study the following verses :

"If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light ; but if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because he hath no light" (xi. 9, 10).

"Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you : for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth" (xii. 35).

"I am the light of the world : he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (viii. 12).

"I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in me should not abide in darkness" (xii. 46).

"So long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world" (ix. 5).

"Yet a little while is the light with you. While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light" (xii. 35, 36).

These verses are at present scattered throughout the Gospel but if we were to find them in any ancient manuscript as a connected discourse, should we doubt it to be genuine ? So treated, does it not reveal exactly those characteristics of style which are so marked in "The Good Shepherd" or "The True Vine" (xv. 1-8) ?

Finally, to take a more general test of style.¹ I ask the student to read the Gospel *aloud* to himself several times, and consider whether all the chapters sound as if they had been written by the same author. Is not the style of some parts much more primitive and "staccato" than that of others ?

To take examples : I suggest reading first chapter ix. (the whole) and chapter xi. 1-46, and then chapters xviii. and xix.

¹ There are some differences of style which are well worth the attention of Greek scholars : notably the use of the verb *λαλεῖν*. But I take points which can be made obvious to readers who do not know that language.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Apart from the general length, rhythm and structure of the sentences, contrast especially the methods of introducing a speech. In the first two chapters there is surely far less variety, e.g. :

- ix. 9. "Some said . . . others said . . . he said."
- 10. "Therefore they said unto him. . . ."
- 11. "He answered and said. . . ."
- 12. "And they said unto him. . . . He said. . . ."
- 15. "He said unto them. . . ."
- 16. "Therefore said some. . . . Others said. . . ."
- 17. "They say unto the blind man. . . . He said. . . ."

Does not this remind one very much of the uneducated man's way of telling a story—"I said"; "He said to me"; "Says I to him"; "He answers," etc.?

Contrast the opening of chapter xix :

- 2. "And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and they put on him a purple robe, *and said*. . . ."
- 4. "Pilate therefore went forth again *and said* . . ."
- 5. "Then came Jesus forth wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe : *and Pilate saith* unto them. . . ."
- 7. "The Jews *answered him*. . . ."
- 8, 9. "When Pilate therefore heard that saying he was the more afraid, and went again into the Judgment Hall, *and saith to Jesus*. . . ."

In the former style it is the rule to begin a sentence containing a speech directly with the words ". . . said" (or "saith" or "answered and said") : the exception to preface the verb with an introductory clause. In the latter the reverse holds good.

Similarly, contrast the method of introducing an answer to a question. The case can be put simply in tabular form.

	Chapters ix.-xi.	Chapters xviii.-xix.
Number of questions asked	13	13
Answer introduced by :		
"Said," or "Saith"	6	1
"Answered"	4	8
"Answered and said"	2	1
Other ways ¹	1	3

¹ "Reviled him and said"—ix. 28. "He denied and said"—xviii. 25.
 "He denied again"—xviii. 27. "They cried out saying"—xviii. 40.

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It is, in short, the practice of the later two chapters to introduce a reply to a direct question with the word "answered": the exception in the first two. Moreover, in the first two we twice find the employment of the formula "answered and said" (so common in the Second Gospel) where no question has been asked or even suggested (ix. 30, 34).

Another feature of style is that in some parts of the Gospel we find a frequent use of the formula, "Verily, verily, I say unto you"; in others an almost complete absence of it. (It does not, for example, occur at all in chapters iv., vii., ix. and xi., whereas we find it seven times in chapters xiii.-xv.)

Surely all these points indicate that the Fourth Gospel is, like the First and Third, a compilation of extracts from pre-existing books.

3. THE THEORY OF COMPILATION

The thesis which I here put forward may be summarized very shortly thus.

The Fourth Gospel is a compilation from two distinct sources:

R. *The Record of the Loved Disciple*: an eyewitness of certain phases of the Ministry, whose aim was to reveal the character of Jesus: what he *was*, rather than what he did.

P. *A Gospel "according to St. Philip"*: the theme of which is that Christ revealed his divinity by an incessant exhibition of miraculous power, culminating in the stupendous feat of raising a man four days in his grave, an act which set the seal on the Pharisees' resolve to destroy him. In short, the writer's aim was to show us what Jesus *did*, rather than what he was (in his human aspect at least).

Or, to put it another way, R dealt with belief in the Word of Jesus, P with faith through his Works.

Of these two sources R was contained in two volumes:

RD. "The Doctrine of the Father and the Son": a collection of sayings, not of a general nature (like the Matthaean collection), but having a special theme—the revelation by God the Father of His love for the world through His Son.

RN. "The Story of the Disciple whom Jesus loved": a narrative not of the whole ministry but of those episodes of which the writer had personal knowledge.

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In its turn, RN was in two parts—"The Ministry of Jesus" and "The Passion of Jesus."

The compilation was in two stages. In the first stage P was expanded and supplemented with "words of Jesus," that is to say, with extracts from RD. In the second, this new edition of P was further enlarged by the incorporation of the whole of RD, some (but not all) of the first part of RN, and the whole of the second part of RN (except that certain portions of it were already missing through damage and some loss of leaves).

This second edition of P is substantially the Fourth Gospel as we now have it.

If this theory seems revolutionary, I ask the reader to consider the following facts.

Tradition is strong that the Fourth Gospel was first published at Ephesus; and it also associates with that centre of early Christianity "John the Disciple of the Lord, who leaned on his breast at the Supper," "Philip the Apostle" and "Philip the Evangelist." These two Philips are treated as one; and it has been argued that there was a confusion between Philip, the member of The Twelve, and the Philip who is mentioned in the Acts as appointed "deacon" (vi. 5) and preacher of the Gospel (viii. 26-40), and so named "evangelist" (xxi. 8).

But is it not at least possible that Ephesus was familiar with an "evangel," that is to say, a Gospel, "according to St. Philip (the Apostle)," and that the Apostle was styled "evangelist" for that reason? It is certain that Philip does play a very prominent part in portions of the Fourth Gospel.

If I am right in my reconstruction of the sources *purely on the internal evidence* (and it was on that evidence alone that I originally assigned to P the title "the Gospel of St. Philip") R, the Record of the Disciple, lays stress on the *Words* of Jesus, P on the *Works*. Now, the latter contains little or no spiritual teaching: the appeal of the former is to students and philosophers, for the masses have always deserved the rebuke, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe."

Would it, then, be an unnatural course for the Elders of the Church at Ephesus to decide firstly on supplementing the Gospel of Works with Words of Jesus, and secondly, on com-

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binning the Record and the Gospel in a single book? This would account, not only for the compilation, but for the phenomenon that the Fourth Gospel exhibits *a unity of purpose* which has been the theme of many essays, in that a conscious effort has clearly been made that the Works and the Words of Jesus should mutually illustrate each other.

There is the further curious fact that, although such leading Churchmen as Justin and Ignatius in the early second century had quoted freely *Words* of Jesus now found in the Fourth Gospel, and although the First Epistle of John constantly recalls them, they mention none of the *Works* peculiar to it, and the Church as a whole seems to have hesitated to admit it to the Canon of the New Testament. Does this not suggest that not all of the Gospel was regarded as having equal authority and value?

It may lastly be remarked that the idea of combining two or more books in a single volume for purposes of instruction was by no means unusual in the world of early Christianity.¹ In fact, in the second century and later, Tatian's "Diatessaron, or Harmony, which carefully weaves the four Gospels into a continuous story, while preserving as far as possible their original wording, seems to have been the only form in which the Gospels were publicly read in the Churches . . . among the Syriac-speaking Christians."² There is therefore nothing bizarre in the suggestion that the Elders of Ephesus may have similarly caused the Record of John and the Evangel of Philip to be woven into a single book.

With these remarks I proceed to a more detailed account of the development, as I view it, of the Fourth Gospel from its original sources.

NOTE

In studying the account of the compilation, it should be steadfastly borne in mind that the ancients did not *read* books in the modern sense. The educated man of to-day, accustomed to read a book of several hundred pages almost at a sitting, is apt to forget that the old manuscripts were barely decipherable by any but professional scholars, and their publication was by recitation. For even those who "read" aloud to audiences usually committed passages to memory. Thus a book was a *book of reference for reciters*.

¹ Nor in our day, as witness the Oxford Short Bible.

² I quote from Streeter's "The Four Gospels," pp. 9-10.

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From this fact two results follow, which are very relevant to the present discussion. Firstly, a Gospel was a book of reference for priests and catechists. Secondly, the catechist would seldom, if ever, recite any long passage of the Gospel, but comparatively short passages, comparable to our modern "lessons." The *context* from which the passage was taken would be of minor importance as compared with the *matter* of the passage, at any rate so far as the listeners were concerned.

While the books, P, RN and RD, which in my view form the sources of the Fourth Gospel, were written, as we should write, in a coherent and logical sequence, it is quite possible that the Ephesian compilers regarded it rather as a manual of "lessons" to be read aloud in extracts, each narrative episode being accompanied by an appropriate discourse. The sequence of these episodes would be of very small importance in their eyes.

To take a modern parallel, an author compiling a book of "Stories from English History," to be read to children, may for his own convenience, and for the benefit of the parents who read them aloud, arrange them in rough chronological order. But he is not concerned to produce a complete English history, and he may for dramatic reasons depart from the strict chronological order in his grouping of stories.

TABLE SHOWING THE CONTENTS OF THE ORIGINAL GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

(NOTE.—The reason for suggesting that the manuscript was in two scrolls will be explained later.)

First Scroll

- A. The Baptism of Jesus : i. 19-27, 31, 15 (30), 34, 28.
- B. The Call of Philip and Nathanael : i. 43-50.
- C. The Testimony of John : iii. 22-26, 28-30.
- D. The Woman of Samaria : iv. 1-9, 16-19, 25-30, 39-43.
- E. The Miracle at Cana : ii. 1-11.
- F. The Nobleman's Son : iv. 46 (end)-54.
- G. Jesus goes to Jerusalem : vii. 2-5, 8-10.
- H. The Impotent Man is healed : v. 2-16.
- J. Jesus teaches in the Temple : vii. 14, 19-27, 30.
He returns to Galilee : vii. 1 ; iv. 45, 46 (beg.).
- K. He crosses the Sea and feeds the Multitude : vi. 1-15.
- L. He recrosses the Sea walking on the Waters to Capernaum : vi. 16-21.
- M. At Capernaum the People demand a Sign : vi. 22-26, 30, 36.
He returns to Cana : ii. 12.
- N. He goes again to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Dedication, and prophesies the raising of his body : x. 22 ; ii. 23, 18-22 ; viii. 59.
- O. He heals the Blind Man : ix. 1-3, 6-15.
- P. The Blind Man bears Witness : ix. 16-38.
- Q. The Pharisees are rebuked for blindness : ix. 39-41 ; xii. 39-41.
Jesus departs "beyond Jordan" : x. 19-21, 39-42.
- R. He comes to Bethany : xi. 1-8, 11-16.
- S. Martha bears Witness : xi. 17-22, 27-31.

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- T. The Raising of Lazarus : xi. 32-40 ; xii. 28-30 ; xi. 41-44.
- U. The Chief Priests hold a Council : xi. 45-47, 48 (part), 53.
Jesus goes to Ephraim : xi. 54.
- V. Jesus returns to Bethany and goes up to Jerusalem, acclaimed by the
multitude : xi. 55-57 ; xii. 1, 9-18.

Second Scroll

- V. Jesus does not need the Witness of the Multitude : ii. 24-25.
- W. The Jews seek him at the Feast : vii. 11-13 ; vii. 31-35 [viii. 21, 22, 24] ;
vii. 40-43. The Pharisees would fain take him, but he rebukes them.
He condemns them for their unbelief : [xv. 22, 24, 25]. They still
doubt, but some of the Rulers believe : xii. 36 (end), 37-43.
- X. The First Appearance of the Risen Lord
- Y. The Second Appearance
- Z. The Third Appearance

} xx. 19.-xxi. 14.

4. THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP (P)

According to the theory outlined above, the Gospel of St. Philip (P) is the basic narrative on to which "the Doctrine of the Father and the Son" (RD) and "the Story of the Disciple" (RN) were subsequently grafted, if I may use that metaphor. It is, then, essential to an understanding of the process of compilation, which will be described in the course of this essay, that at the outset I should clearly explain, and the reader should clearly grasp, the nature and order of its narrative.

The sequence of events was, I conceive, as follows (the capital letters refer to the sections of the complete text which will be found at pp. 90-119) :

A, B. Jesus is baptized at the Jordan, calls Philip and Nathanael, and

C. Passes into Judæa. There John also baptizes and bears witness to Jesus's supremacy.

D. Owing to the popular impression that he is a rival of John, Jesus leaves Judæa for Galilee, passing through Samaria. At Sychar he meets the Samaritan woman and reveals her past life.

E, F. He comes to Cana, where he turns the water into wine, and heals at a distance the son of the nobleman of Capernaum.

G, H, J. At the exhortation of his brethren he goes up to Jerusalem (his *first* visit) for the FEAST OF TABERNACLES ; heals the Impotent Man ; defends his act in the Temple ; and returns to Galilee.

K. He crosses the Sea of Galilee, feeds the Multitude, and recrosses, walking on the sea, to Capernaum.

L. The people demand a sign, and he returns to Cana.

N. He goes again to Jerusalem for the FEAST OF DEDICATION, and prophesies the raising of the Temple of his body.

O, P. The blind man is healed and bears witness.

Q. Jesus rebukes the Pharisees for their blindness, and departs "beyond Jordan."

R, S, T. He comes to Bethany at the report of Lazarus's sickness; Martha bears witness, and he raises Lazarus from the dead. Even the Jews believe.

U. The Pharisees therefore decide that he must be put to death. He escapes to Ephraim.

V. He comes to Jerusalem for the FEAST OF THE PASSOVER, and is acclaimed by the Multitude.

W. The Jews "seek him at the Feast" (*seek* here means, I suggest, pursue with the intention of arresting). He rebukes and evades them.

Whether P contained any detailed account of the Passion is a question which I reserve for discussion later.¹ It is sufficient here to say that the Gospel ends with—

X, Y, Z. The three appearances of the Risen Lord, to the Disciples, in Thomas's absence; again to the Disciples, Thomas being present; and finally to certain Disciples at the Sea of Galilee.

We are more immediately concerned with the course of the Ministry preceding the Passion. The story is conceived in a spirit of drama. By this I do not mean to say that the writer deliberately falsified history, but, as he himself tells us (xx. 30), he has made a conscious selection of episodes, in order to illustrate, and crystallize, so to speak, the mission of Jesus Christ. The narrative attempts unity of construction in three ways:

(I) *The progress of the Ministry is represented as a continuous journey or series of journeys*

That is to say, we can closely follow his movements throughout: there is no vagueness about them, and each event is assigned to some particular locality.

¹ See Section 14 of the Introduction, p. 53.

The three Feasts—Tabernacles, Dedication, Passover—may perhaps be intended to symbolize the Preparation, Dedication and the Offering of the Sacrifice of Christ.

(II) *The Miracles are chosen in an ascending scale of power, a progressive revelation of divine nature, culminating in the raising of a man from the dead*

Thus, in seeing Nathanael at a distance under the fig-tree, revealing the past life of the woman of Samaria, and healing the nobleman's son at a distance, Jesus exhibits mastery over space and time; in multiplying loaves and fishes, and in walking on the waters, over inanimate nature; in healing the impotent man and the blind man, over the frailties of the human body in life; and finally, in raising Lazarus from the dead, over death.

(III) *The Ministry is displayed as a process of convincing, by successive miracles, all but the Chief Priests and Pharisees*

Apart from the testimony of individuals (John the Baptist, Philip, Nathanael, the woman of Sychar, the nobleman, the impotent man, the blind man, and Martha), the Samaritans (iv. 42), the Galilæans (iv. 45), the multitude on the far side of the Sea of Galilee (vi. 14), the people beyond Jordan (x. 41), the Jews (xi. 45), and finally even the "Chief Rulers" of Jerusalem (xii. 42) are persuaded that he is the Christ, the Son of God, the Messiah, the Prophet that should come. And in each case this conviction is the result of a demonstration of supernatural powers.

The point on which emphasis must be laid here is that, according to this narrative, not only by his followers but by Jesus himself, miracle-working is regarded as the truest and surest revelation of his divine nature; and so far from attempting (as in the Marcan tradition) to discourage facile acclamations, or charging the healed to keep silence, Jesus welcomes and invites recognition from the very outset to the end of the Ministry. For example, he declares to the woman of Sychar that he is "that Messiah who is called Christ" and to the blind man that he is "the Son of God"; he tells the Disciples that the blind man was born blind expressly in order that "the words of God may be manifested in him"; and he rejoices (!) that he was not at Bethany to cure Lazarus,

in order that he may impress them by the still greater miracle of restoring him to life.

This attitude towards the miraculous, even more than the sequence of events, is a palpable challenge to the Marcan tradition; and it is commonly recognized as raising one of the fundamental problems of the Fourth Gospel. It inevitably invites two questions: (1) Is it possible to reconcile it with the Marcan tradition, derived—so we are glad to believe—from the authority of Peter?; (2) is it a spiritual attitude, the attitude which we should expect from the Loved Disciple who seems again and again, in those parts of the narrative where he expressly reminds us of his presence, to have approached more nearly than any other mortal to the heart of Jesus, as we would fain imagine him?

I venture for a moment on a short digression. Anyone who has lived in the East to-day knows how easily the people see a miracle in any act which is unusual or striking. My father, a medical missionary, was believed by the Persians, including the patient himself, to have cut off a man's leg and put on a new one, when he had only opened and dressed an abscess. I have myself in India been credited with a "miracle of healing at a distance" because an educated Indian gentleman, to whom I sent a telegram expressing a desire for his speedy recovery from an ailment, did in fact immediately recover. That Jesus had supernormal powers of healing, and of mastery over nature (the extent and possibility of which scientists are slowly beginning to recognize) no thinking man will dispute; and if a credulous people can see the supernatural in the simple acts described above, how much more so in the unrivalled powers of Jesus?

Let me give an illustration from the matter of the Fourth Gospel—the miracle at the marriage feast of Cana. Suppose Jesus went to a marriage feast, and on the company finishing the wine, and proposing to send for more, he persuaded them that pure water, drunk in good-fellowship and love, is the best of wines; can we not imagine that not only might the host say, "We have left the best wine until now," but the guests might be made to feel, "This is indeed wine that we are drinking." If that happened (and surely it is a miracle in its way) it is possible—I should myself regard it as inevitable—that "the bazaar" would speedily credit Jesus with the literal conversion of water into wine.

But whatever view we take of the possibility of miracles, the important point is this. According to the Marcan tradition, Jesus himself did indeed regard the power of working miracles as *supernormal*, in the sense that their performance requires a special training and a special attitude of mind; but most emphatically he did *not* claim that his power was *supernatural* or evidence that he was the Son of God. He was insistent that his Disciples could, given sufficient faith and preparation ("prayer and fasting"), accomplish no less than he; and indeed, in the canonical Gospels and the Acts (not to speak of the apocryphal tradition), they also are credited with "mighty works," including restoration of the dead to life. But can anyone who reads the Fourth Gospel with an open mind doubt that the recounter of the miracles intended them to be regarded as *proofs of divinity*?

It is relevant to observe that this thesis—that Jesus manifested his divinity by an exhibition of miraculous power, and that for this reason the Chief Priests sought to kill him ("What do we, for this man doeth many miracles?"—xi. 47)—contradicts not only the Marcan tradition but other parts of the Fourth Gospel itself. "For this cause was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth" (xviii. 37); "Ye seek to kill me, *a man that hath told you the truth*, which I have heard from God" (viii. 40). Can we doubt that this—the refusal to accept Jesus's *word*—was the real cause of the Crucifixion? And is it really natural to think that one and the same author could give two such different accounts of Jesus's own view of his mission and of the opposition to it?

Attempts have been made to argue that St. John meant the miracles to be regarded as allegories, for he was a mystic; or that he was an old man, of failing memory, whose imagination reconstructed the scenes which he had witnessed as a youth. I can only say this: to my mind the miracle stories bear every evidence that they were intended to be taken as the literal truth; and no work gives a greater impression than St. John's account of the Passion of having been written by a man who, whatever his age, possessed a most vivid memory and unabated mental vigour.

One last feature of the Fourth Gospel deserves notice here. In the Marcan tradition Peter is the most prominent of the Disciples. He is the leader of the Twelve, and is constantly

in the forefront of the scene ; and this is the case in a great part of the Fourth Gospel also. It is Peter who bears witness (vi. 68) ; asserts his readiness to die for his Master (xiii. 37) ; whips out his sword to avenge him (xviii. 10) ; follows to the palace (xviii. 15) ; leaps into the water to greet his Lord (xxi. 7) ; races to the tomb (xx. 4) ; and receives the command to feed the sheep (xxi. 15)—an unforgettable portrait of fire and passion. And with him nearly always stands the more shadowy figure of the Loved Disciple. But in other parts the prominence is given to Philip. It is Philip whom Jesus consults when about to feed the multitude (vi. 5) ; Philip whom the Greeks approach, when they desire to see Jesus (xii. 21). It is explained by some that Philip is mentioned in these places because he actually played these parts ; these are vivid touches which mark the work of a veritable eyewitness.

But the point is, not that an apostle who is not mentioned by the Synoptists (otherwise than in a bare list of the Twelve) has, so to say, " a speaking part," but that when he is on the stage he fills the rôle which would naturally be filled by the leader of the Twelve.

Explanations can be given, and are given, of all these peculiarities. But are they not artificial explanations ? ¹ Do they not really arise out of the difficulties, felt consciously or unconsciously, which underlie three assumptions : (1) that the narrator of the miracles was the editor of the spiritual discourses ; (2) that the eyewitness of the Passion scenes was an eyewitness of the miracles ; and (3) that the evangelist who wrote about St. Peter also wrote about St. Philip ? Are those assumptions necessarily valid ?

I do not expect the reader to be convinced at this stage of the truth of my thesis, but I hope that at least he will not lightly dismiss the possibility.

ABSTRACT OF THE CONTENTS OF THE SPIRITUAL DISCOURSES

N.B.—The verse index has been slightly simplified. No attempt has been made to indicate parts of verses. And verses are usually given in the order of their appearance in the Fourth Gospel, not of their place in the Discourse.

Prologue : i. 1-5, 9-18 ; iii. 16-21, 33-35.

The Worship of the Father : iv. 20, 21, 23.

The Voice of the Son : v. 21, 25, 26.

The Father and the Son : v. 19, 20, 23, 27 ; xii. 26.

¹ E.g., if Luke had told the story of Lazarus in place of the story of the raising of the Son of the Widow of Nain, should we feel the slightest temptation to suggest that it was an allegory written by an aged mystic ?

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The Father and I :

- (i) The Gift of the Father : vi. 37, 39 ; x. 29.
- (ii) The Commandment of the Father : v. 30 ; xii. 49, 50 ; xiv. 24, 31.
- (iii) The Condemnation of the Word : v. 24 ; xii. 47, 48.

The Seven Admonitions :

- (i) The Rebirth in the Spirit : iii. 2-6, 8-10, 29 (pt.).
- (ii) Earth and Heaven : iii. 11, 12, 27, 31, 32 ; vii. 38.
- (iii) The Life Everlasting : v. 24 ; vi. 40, 47, 61-63.
- (iv) The Approach to the Son : vi. 37, 44, 45.
- (v) The True Freedom : viii. 31, 32, 34, 36.
- (vi) The Vision of the Father : v. 37 ; vi. 46 ; xiv. 7.
- (vii) The Father's House : xiv. 1, 2, 23.

The Seven Reproofs :

- (i) The Word of Truth : vii. 18 ; viii. 26, 27, 43, 45-47 ; v. 38 ; viii. 44.
- (ii) The Testimony of the Scriptures : v. 39, 40, 45, 46, 47.
- (iii) The Glory of the Son : viii. 54, 55 ; v. 41, 43, 44 ; viii. 50.
- (iv) The Judgment of the Son : v. 45 ; vii. 18 ; viii. 15, 16, 26 ; v. 34 ; viii. 16.
- (v) Knowledge of the Father : viii. 19, 14, 23, 25.
- (vi) The Witnesses of the Son : v. 31-33, 35-37.
- (vii) The Works of the Son : v. 36 ; viii. 29, 41, 42.

The Sevenfold I AM :

- (i) The Water of Life : iv. 10-15 ; vii. 37 ; vi. 35.
- (ii) The Bread of Life : vi. 27, 31, 33, 35, 41, 43, 48, 51, 52, 57.
- (iii) The Good Shepherd : x. 1-16.
- (iv) The Resurrection and the Life : xi. 25-26.
- (v) The Way, the Truth and the Life : xiv. 6.
- (vi) The Light of the World : viii. 12 ; ix. 5 ; xi. 9-10 ; xii. 35, 36, 46.
- (vii) The True Vine : xv. 1-8, 16.

The Threefold Promise :

- (i) xiii. 20.
- (ii) xiv. 12.
- (iii) xvi. 23.

5. THE SPIRITUAL DISCOURSES (RD)

Briefly to recall my thesis, it is that in the first stage of compilation the Elders of Ephesus directed the embellishment of the Gospel of Works (P) with the Words of Jesus ; that is, only RD (and not RN) was to be drawn upon. And accordingly I give here a brief résumé of " The Doctrine of the Father and the Son," or, as it will be more convenient to say, " the Discourses." (The full text will be found at pp. 160-176.)

The Discourses are a collection of sayings of Jesus, which are concerned not, like the Matthæan collection, with problems of conduct and everyday life, but with the spiritual theory of the Incarnation ; that is to say, with the revelation of God the Father to the World, through the Son and through those

to whom the Son reveals Him. The book begins with a Prologue in which the Evangelist ("The Loved Disciple") summarizes his Master's teaching with some reflections of his own. He then proceeds (in my view) to set forth the sayings of Jesus on this theme, arranged in a logical and coherent sequence. Thus we have first "the Worship of the Father," "the Voice of the Son," "the Father and the Son," and "the Father and I," developing a successive identification of the Father with the Son, and of the Son with Jesus. These opening discourses are followed by "the Seven Admonitions" (addressed to those who seek the Truth), "the Seven Reproofs" (to those wilfully blind to the Truth), "the Sevenfold I AM" (identifying Jesus with the Eternal I AM of God). And the book concludes with "the Threefold Promise" to those who shall carry on the Mission of the Son hereafter on earth.

I shall discuss this arrangement presently, but more immediately I wish to call attention to certain sayings; and, whatever be the correct placing of them, they are in the Gospel.

"God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth" (iv. 24); "Ye have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His shape" (v. 37). I ask the reader if it is easy to believe that the man who recorded those sayings for us was the sort of man who would have believed in the literal truth of the story which we find in chapter xii. 28-30: "Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, 'I both have glorified and will glorify (my name).' The people therefore that stood by, *and heard it*, said that it thundered: others said, 'an angel spake to him'?" Do not these passages suggest two wholly different ideas of God the Father, the one anthropomorphic, the other spiritual?

Again, "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him" (iii. 17); "If any man hear my sayings and keep them not, it is not I that condemn him; for I came not to condemn the world, but to save the world. He that receiveth not my sayings hath One who condemneth him; the Word which I have spoken, the Same shall condemn him" (xii. 47, 48). Jesus does not condemn: in the words of St. John's First Epistle, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins." It is man's own sin, his wilful rejection of "the

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Word," that condemns him. How do we reconcile this point of view with, "For judgment am I come into the world, that they which see not might see, *and that they which see might be made blind*" (ix. 39); "If ye believe not that I am He, *ye shall die in your sins*" (viii. 24)? Have we not here two wholly different views of the Father's judgment and mercy, and of the mercy of His Son? If St. John really wrote both sets of passages, then he presents a psychological mystery. Surely, before we take that view, we ought at least to contemplate the possibility that he did not.

As to my suggested arrangement of the Discourses, I wish to say a word. I do not suppose that any two men, starting with the same thesis but working out its details independently, would arrive at exactly the same result. But I do frankly think that no one is qualified to criticize the detail unless he first spends some fraction of the hundreds of hours that I have devoted to it. In especial I would like to make it clear that the sevenfold grouping—the Seven Admonitions, the Seven Reproofs, and the Sevenfold I AM—is not an arbitrary scheme of my own devising. It was not until I had grouped the sayings in what seemed to me the natural and logical order that I noticed the number. Now, I am no mystic, and I have no reverence for the number seven. But the ancients in general, and not merely the devotees of theosophic cults, did reverence it. And it is at least a remarkable coincidence—if coincidence it be—that an arrangement made on entirely different grounds should conform to that mystic number.

6. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COMPILATION

Before I discuss the precise use made of RD by the scholar (S), to whom the Elders of Ephesus entrusted the work of embellishing P, I wish to say something of the psychology of ancient compilation. For the reader may, very naturally, say, "If the Discourses were originally arranged in a logical sequence, and one which involved the revered and mystic number seven, why should S have disarranged them?"

Now, it is no part of my case that the Elders of Ephesus intended that the embellished edition of P should entirely supersede either of the two works, any more than Tatian (I presume) meant his Diatessaron to oust the Four Gospels,

or the authors of the modern Oxford Short New Testament contemplate that their work should absolve all future generations from buying standard New Testaments. It was a work with a specific object.

Apart from this, I would give three broad answers : (a) It is a commonplace of criticism, which few modern scholars will dispute, that Luke and Matthew (meaning the authors of the First and Third Gospels) drew upon a common collection of sayings. But not only do they place the same groups of sayings in very different narrative contexts, but they often combine individual verses very differently. If they felt full liberty to modify their original, why not S ?

(b) The objection surely overlooks even modern practice. A "gospel" is practically what we call nowadays a "biography," with Jesus as its subject. Do we think it strange that the author of a poet's biography should make selections from his poems and letters to illustrate his life and art ? Do we ask of a biographer of Browning, "Why, when he quotes poems, does he not reproduce them in full and in the strict order of their publication ?" The Disciple, as I conceive, wished to illustrate a particular aspect of the Master's teaching. His work was, as it were, an anthology. The aim of S was quite different ; to illustrate (in the pictorial sense) another book.

(c) The objection assumes that S had a manuscript of the Discourses wherein they were arranged in the order which I have conjectured, and that he was himself certain of the arrangement. Apart from the possibility that its leaves were disarranged, let the objector go to any museum where he can view an ancient Greek manuscript, or a library which keeps photographic reproductions. In the ancient MSS. there were no sectional or chapter headings, and frequently no divisions between words, let alone verses or groups of verses. Thus an ancient reader might find it very difficult, if not impossible, to judge with any certainty where one discourse ended and another began.

Whether we should ascribe it to the sheer difficulty of reading in such conditions, or, possibly, to the fact that there were few in a position to carry out an authoritative check, infidelity to originals (judging by modern standards) was a common feature of ancient compilation. Let me give a simple illustration from the Synoptic Gospels.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

Matthew

v. 13-15 : "Ye are the salt of the earth. (i) *If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.*

"Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

(ii) "*Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick ; and it giveth light to all that are in the house.*"

x. 25-27 : "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household ?

"Fear them not therefore : (iii) *for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed ; and hid, that shall not be known.*

"What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light. . . ."

Luke

xiv. 34, 35 : "Salt is good : but (i) *if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ? It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dung-hill ; but men cast it out.*"

viii. 16, 17 : (ii) "*No man, when he hath lighted a candle, covereth it with a vessel or putteth it under a bed ; but setteth it on a candlestick, that they which enter may see the light.*

(iii) "*For nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest ; neither anything hid, that shall not be made known.*"

xi. 33, 34 : (ii) "*No man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth it in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light.*

"The light of the body is the eye ; therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body is full of light."

xii. 1-3 : "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

(iii) "*For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed ; neither hid, that shall not be made known.*

"Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light."

Mark

iv. 21 : (ii) "*Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed ? and not to be set on a candlestick ?*

(iii) "*For there is nothing hid, which shall not be manifested ; neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should come abroad.*"

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The saying, (i) "If the salt has lost its savour [lit. saltiness], it is no longer of any use for seasoning, but is only fit to be thrown away," is one which can have half a dozen applications. It is also likely that Jesus spoke of his Disciples as "the salt of the earth," a phrase which has passed into the common idiom of our language. But by prefacing the former saying with the latter, Matthew gives to it a particular, and a peculiar, application.

Then take the saying (ii) that a candle should be placed where it can be seen. Matthew gives it once, and groups it naturally with "Ye are the light of the world." Luke has it twice, and the second time connects it, in a far less natural way, with "the light of the body is the eye." There is really no logical connection between the two ideas.

Lastly, there is the saying, (iii) "There is nothing covered which shall not be revealed; or kept secret that shall not be made known." Here the varieties of treatment are almost bewildering. Mark combines it with the saying about the candle, implying a possible, but a doubtful, interpretation. Matthew gives it an entirely different turn by suggesting that what Jesus speaks in secret shall be made known in public. Luke takes an amazing course. He first connects it (like Mark) with the saying about the candle, and then with a warning against hypocrisy, in which context it can only be plausibly interpreted as meaning that a man cannot keep his *evil* thoughts and deeds hidden indefinitely.

If the Synoptists could make such permutations and combinations of three simple sayings, each perfectly intelligible in itself, is it arguable that S would be more scrupulous, or more intelligent, in dealing with discourses on a theme which requires philosophical training, or at least a very thoughtful mind, for its full appreciation?

7. THE METHOD OF ANCIENT COMPILATION

Having, as I hope, guarded against any possible pre-conception in the mind of the reader that an ancient compiler would necessarily feel himself unable to take any liberties with the matter of his sources, I think it still desirable to preface my account of the way in which S actually worked by a brief description of the technical difficulties which confronted any scholar of that age, engaged on such a task.

Suppose that to-day you were to conceive the idea of composing a new Gospel by combining two existing Gospels (say Luke and Matthew), retaining, so far as would be compatible with your object, the form and matter of the originals : what would you do ? You would, I suggest, take two well-printed texts of the Gospels, with all their conveniences of numbered pages, chapters and verses ; a synopsis or " harmony " in which their parallel passages are printed side by side ; a note-book and several quires of foolscap ; and a stock of coloured pencils. (I mention only some of the more obvious modern aids.) Having started with copious notes and digests written on separate sheets of paper, you would make at least one rough draft (more probably several) ; compile indices and tables of cross-references by which you would check your drafts ; and then you would prepare a final typed copy before sending it to the printer.

Now, imagine yourself faced not by printed texts, the leaves of which you can turn over rapidly, but by (1) a roll of fragile papyrus, twenty to thirty feet long, written in crabbed capital letters without any chapter or verse divisions, and (2) a bundle of loose unnumbered papyrus leaves, similarly written. Imagine yourself also deprived of all the modern aids mentioned above, and bound practically to compose your work without any preliminary drafts. How would you proceed ?

The fact is that, though we say that the ancients compiled histories on " the scissors-and-paste method," and the description may give a rough idea of the *result* (that is to say, it somewhat resembles a modern report which has been prepared by taking verbatim extracts from a number of statements), the precise difficulty of the ancients was that they lacked scissors and paste, and all the other modern facilities for compilation.

Well, to repeat the question, in such conditions how would you proceed with the task of combining Luke and Matthew ? Unless you were capable of the colossal feat of not only memorizing the two Gospels completely but memorizing them in mental parallel columns, you would, I suggest, first decide which of the two Gospels you would employ as the main basis of your compilation, and you would then take the manuscript of that Gospel and write in the margin of it those passages of the other Gospel which you thought fit to incorporate, either in addition or in substitution.

On most of the many drawbacks of the method I do not propose to dilate here, though I may have occasion to mention some of them later. But on one I wish to lay emphasis. *The compiler was restricted by the size of his margin.* Though ancient manuscripts usually had wide margins (perhaps in view of the possibility of some such use), there was a limit to them. Hence arose an inevitable tendency to condense, and curtail, the matter to be incorporated.

ABSTRACT OF THE INTERPOLATIONS MADE BY S (INCLUDING THE PSEUDO-JOHANNINE DISCOURSES)

	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Verse Index</i>
	Prologue	i. 1-5, 9-14, 16-18.
(CC)	The Son from Heaven	iii. 27, 31, 33-36.
(DD)	The Water of Life	iv. 10-15.
	The Worship of the Father	iv. 21, 23, 24.
(GG)	The Marvellous Works of the Son	v. 20 [vii. 21], v. 28, 29.
(HH)	Moses, the Accuser	v. 30, 34, 36, 42, 44-46.
(JJ)	The Judgment of the Son	[viii. 15, 16], v. 22, 23, 27.
(KK)	The Resurrection of them that come to the Son	vi. 37, 39, 40, 44.
(MM)	The Bread from Heaven	vi. 27, 31-35 [58].
(NN)	Those who will not come into the Fold	x. 25-30, 31.
(OOi)	The Light of the World	ix. 5 [xi. 9-10] [viii. 12].
(OOii)	The Witnesses of Jesus's Miracle	viii. 13, 14, 17, 18.
(PQ)	Jesus and the Sons of Abraham	viii. 30-39, 41, 44, 48-58, 59.
(SS)	The Promise of the Resurrection	xi. 23-26.
VV	The Visit of the Ruler	iii. 1-12.
	(The Cleansing of the Temple)	ii. 14-17.
WW(i)	Philip asks to see the Father	xii. 20-22; xiv. 7-14.
WW(ii)	Thomas asks to know the Way	vii. 36 [xiii. 33] [xiv. 2, 4-6].

NOTE.—Verses shown in brackets were transposed later, either in the second stage of compilation, or by mistakes of reviser or copyist.

8. THE FIRST STAGE OF COMPILATION: THE WORK OF S

I come now at last to a description of the actual work of the first compiler, whom I have called S, charged with the duty of embellishing P with selections from RD.

The full text of his interpolations, which I have styled "the Pseudo-Johannine Discourses" (conveniently termed PD), will be found at pp. 183-192; and for the ideas which underlay his modifications of the original RD, I refer the reader to the special preface at p. 179. But it will be convenient for the moment to utilize the abstract tables which are set at the end of the book, especially the table in which I have shown in parallel columns the original text of P and the passages written (as I conceive) in the margin of it by S.

And I ask the reader to assume, for the purpose of the argument, that this theory is correct.

Firstly, a word as to the mechanics of the compilation. If anyone will take, as I have done, the trouble to write out the text of P in Greek in one column, and then the text of PD in a margin roughly half the size of that column, he will find that PD will usually just fit in. In a few places the margin will be blank (for example, opposite section L, "the Walking on the Water," where there was no scope for any quotation from RD); but there are only two places where the margin will be insufficient. These places are at the head of the first scroll, where S inserted part of the Prologue of RD, and at the head of the second scroll, where he inserted a brief account of the Cleansing of the Temple, and the story of the Ruler's visit to Jesus. *In those two places he would be able to utilize not only the side margin, but a top margin.*

An interesting point arises out of the conjecture that S utilized the top margin at the beginning of the first scroll. It can hardly have escaped the notice of a diligent student of the Fourth Gospel that John the Baptist is introduced with a very queer abruptness. He is mentioned in the Prologue (verses 6-8, where, as commentators have noticed, his appearance very awkwardly interrupts the argument, and again in verse 15, where the interruption is equally awkward), and then suddenly in verse 19 we find the priests and Levites from Jerusalem questioning him. Where this interview takes place we are not told till verse 28. What we should naturally expect at the outset is some verse comparable to Mark i. 4-5. And I suggest that P did actually begin with some such verse, and that S inadvertently obliterated it when writing the Prologue at the head of the scroll.

Secondly, as to the matter of the interpolations; it may come as a shock to some to be told that Jesus did not address any words about "the living water" to the Woman of Samaria (iv. 10-15), or say, "I am the Resurrection and the Life" to Martha (xi. 23-25). If so, I am sorry; but I ask for a patient consideration of certain points.

The Woman of Samaria

That Jesus loved to take the common acts of everyday life—the sower in his field, the husbandman in his vineyard, the shepherd tending his sheep—to "point a moral and adorn

a tale," is beyond dispute. And I am certain in my own mind (as may be seen from the text at p. 171) that the discourse, "the Water of Life," was spoken by the side of a spring, where a woman was drawing water. But was that woman the Woman of Sychar?

What does the story, as we now have it, tell us? That Jesus was alone with the woman, the Disciples having gone into the city to buy food. Who, then, reported his words? Who could have reported them but the woman? Now look at the account of her report (iv. 29): "Come, see a man who told me all things that ever I did"; who had told her, that is, that she had had five husbands and was now living with a man to whom she was not married. *That* was the point which impressed her, not that his thoughts were of a wonderful and unaccustomed beauty. Was she not a strange person to be chosen by our Lord to be *the sole audience* of one of the most beautiful sayings ever uttered?

The Speech to Martha

I take firstly a textual point. In xi. 40 Jesus says to Martha, "Said I not unto thee, '*If thou wilt believe thou shalt see the glory of God*'?" (The Greek has the *oratio recta*, and we should place the clause beginning "if thou . . ." in quotation marks by modern usage.) Now, it is the almost invariable practice of the evangelist, when recalling a past speech, to quote verbatim (see, for example, vi. 65 and xiii. 33). To my mind the conclusion is irresistible, that these were the words which in the original story Jesus said to Martha in. xi. 23.

The further point is this. Surely, when Jesus said, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die," he was speaking of *spiritual* life and death. Compare, "If a man keep my Word, he shall never see death"; "It is the Spirit that quickeneth: *the Flesh profiteth nothing*." Can we doubt that Jesus consistently taught that physical life and death were of no moment compared with spiritual life and death? And would it not be strange that he should utter the words under discussion in such a context that the hearer would inevitably take them to be an assurance not of a spiritual resurrection but a bodily?

On the other hand, it is perfectly easy to see how readily S, charged with his duty of embellishing P, would jump at the

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opportunity to insert these sayings. He would think to himself, "Here is a story in P of Jesus with a woman at a well; there is a saying of Jesus in RD to a woman drawing water. Here in P is an account of a resurrection from the dead; there in RD is a saying about resurrection from the dead." His choice of a context was not so much natural as inevitable.

And surely, what matters for us is the assurance that Jesus spoke these words; not the particular scene and context.

The work of S explains two passages which have been the subject of comment, namely iii. 31-36 (CC), and viii. 12-18 (OO). As the Fourth Gospel stands, the verses in the first group are spoken by John the Baptist, but (except that the end of verse 36 scarcely seems to be in the spirit of "the Gospel of Love") they sound like words of Jesus. But it was not altogether unnatural for S to interpolate them here. In the narrative of P John was explaining to his own disciples the supremacy of Jesus's mission, and it was plausible to insert here sayings from RD on the same subject.

The second group forms a rough duplicate of v. 31-37. Both passages have for their theme "the witnesses of the Son." But while the argument in the former is convincing, in the latter it is, surely, very unconvincing. In the former Jesus cites as his witnesses John the Baptist, his Father, and his Works. In the latter, after appealing to the Mosaic law that "the testimony of two men is true," he cites *himself* as one of his two witnesses! But the fact, as I see it, is that S put these verses into the mouth not of Jesus but of *the Blind Man*. In the narrative of P the Jews are expressing doubts (see ix. 18) whether he has been healed of blindness. S, by adapting verses of RD, makes him reply in effect, "Your law says that the evidence of two men is true. I am surely the best witness of my own recovery (for whereas I was blind, I now see). And he that sent me (to wash in the Pool of Siloam) is also a witness." That is at least a plausible argument.

9. THE FIRST STAGE OF COMPILATION: THE WORK OF T AND THE MISTAKEN TREATMENT OF THE TWO SCROLLS OF P

When S had completed his work of embellishing the manuscript of P with marginal extracts from RD, the next course

was naturally to make it over to a copyist for producing an edition in which the interpolated matter would appear not in the margin but in the body of the text. And this brings me to what is, to my mind, one of the most interesting features of the compilation of the Fourth Gospel.

If the reader has studied the table on pages 11-12, he may have wondered why I have divided P into two scrolls. I will now proceed to explain.

P was written in two scrolls, the first of which ended at what is now xii. 18, while the second began at what is now ii. 24. The context at the point of junction was as follows :

(xii. 17, 18.) "The multitude therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare witness.

("It was for this cause also that the multitude met him, for that they had heard that he had done this miracle.")
First Scroll ends.

Second Scroll begins (ii. 24, 25) :

"But Jesus had not to rely on them (οὐκ ἐπίστανεν αὐτοῖς) for that all men knew of the deed (διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ γινώσκειν πάντας) : and he had no need that any should bear witness concerning the man (περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), for he himself, as they knew, was yet in the region above (αὐτὸς γὰρ, ὡς ἐγίνωσκον, ἔτι ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄνω τόπῳ¹).

What the evangelist meant was that, though the multitude were saying, "Lazarus has been raised from the dead," this testimony was quite superfluous. In the first place, it was common knowledge, and in the second Lazarus, who had been buried, was living and walking beneath the air of heaven, an unimpeachable witness to his resurrection.

Many readers of the Fourth Gospel must have been puzzled to extract any meaning, or at least any relevant meaning, from "But Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men. And needed not that any should testify of man : for he knew what was in man." But apart from this obscurity, it is not a correct translation of the Greek. In the language of the Fourth Gospel ἄνθρωπος means not "man" in the sense of "mankind" but an individual man (for example, ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων "there was

¹ τῷ ἄνω τόπῳ, the region above, the upper world = the world of life.

a man of the Pharisees"—iii. 1). And περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου can only mean "concerning *the* man." Who is "*the* man" in question?

How is it that two sentences, originally so close together, appear in the compilation at opposite ends of the Gospel? The plain fact, I suggest, is that the copyist-editor (I will call him "the Third Hand" or T for short) made an amazing error. Whether deliberately or by a misunderstanding, he treated the second scroll not as a continuation of the first (as it really was), but as matter to be incorporated in it!

Startling as this suggestion is, it accounts for many of the peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel. For example, the placing of the Cleansing of the Temple at an early visit to Jerusalem, and not (as in the Synoptic Gospels) at the final Passover; the introduction of Nicodemus at so early a stage, though we would naturally (as S actually did) connect his discipleship with that stage of the Ministry when "among the chief rulers also many believed on him (xii. 42); and the fact that the Pharisees are shown as attempting to arrest Jesus (vii.) long before they make the formal decision to do so (xi).

It also explains in a great measure the whole recasting of the original sequence of the narrative of P.

At this point I must refer the reader to Table B at the end of the book. The columns on the left show how T regarded the work to be done; those on the right the book that he produced.

To take first his view of the work to be done. The narrative contained in the first scroll of P embraced only *three* visits to Jerusalem—for the Feasts of Tabernacles, Dedication and Passover. S had already written in the margin a very considerable mass of discourse matter to be added to the accounts of the Feasts of Tabernacles (Pseudo-Johannine Discourses GG, HH and JJ), of Dedication (NN, OO and PQ), and of the Passover (WW (i)). And now, so he supposed, T had to fit in a mass of additional matter, much of which was in the nature of discourse rather than of narrative. (I have marked ϕ certain groups of verses which, though they form part of the original narrative of P, consist mainly of speeches.) In short, the amount of discourse was in his view inconveniently large in proportion to the narrative. What was he to do?

The solution he adopted was to convert the original three Feasts of P into *five*—a first Passover (now in chapter ii.), a feast unspecified (v.), Tabernacles (vii.), Dedication (x.) and second Passover (xii.). This naturally necessitated consequential changes in the order of the original chapters of P. In P we see Jesus passing from the Jordan into Judæa and thence through Samaria to Galilee, where he turns the water into wine at Cana and heals the nobleman's son; then (and not till then) he goes up for the first time to Jerusalem. In the revised account Jesus passes from the Jordan direct to Galilee, for the miracle at the marriage feast (ii. 1); thence to Jerusalem for the Cleansing of the Temple (ii. 13), and the visit of the Ruler (iii. 1); proceeds to Judæa (iii. 22), and through Samaria (iv. 4) returns to Galilee (iv. 45), where he heals the nobleman's son; goes up again (v. 1) to Jerusalem for the unnamed feast, and heals the impotent man; back again in Galilee (vi. 1), he crosses the Sea, and performs the miracles of the Feeding of the Multitude and the Walking on the Waters (vi. 11 and 19); and then goes up a third time to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles (vii. 10).

Now, seeing that the flaws in it have escaped the notice of millions of readers, it cannot be said that he did his work unskilfully. But frankly I cannot see how they can be denied when they are pointed out, as in the following list:

(1) He left the observation that the healing of the nobleman's son was "the second miracle that Jesus did, having come out of Judæa into Galilee" (iv. 54). But in his revised account it is the first. For the real first miracle (ii. 11) is in this account performed not (as in P) on return from Judæa but on arrival from Bethabara beyond Jordan (see i. 28).

(2) The Galilæans are still said to have "believed on Jesus because they had seen all things that he did in Jerusalem at the Feast, *for they also had gone to the Feast*" (iv. 45). The reference in the last words is clearly to the going up to the Feast at the opening of chapter vii.; and why should they be more impressed by unspecified miracles at the Passover (ii. 23) than by the miracle at Cana in their own midst (ii. 1-11)?

(3) There is no mention of a return from the unnamed feast in chapter v. Chapter vi. opens abruptly, "After these things Jesus went over the Sea of Galilee." But usually the evangelist is scrupulous in giving the details of Jesus's movements.

(4) Chapter vii. opens with the statement that "Jesus would not walk in Judæa because the Jews were seeking to kill him"—a curious introduction to a visit to Judæa!

(5) In the same passage the brethren exhort him (vii. 3) to go to Judæa in words which very clearly imply that he had not yet been there, though according to the revised account he had already been to two preceding feasts.

(6) The defence of healing on the Sabbath day (vii. 19-24) clearly refers to the Healing of the Impotent Man (v. 2-16) at the previous feast. Why should Jesus postpone his defence to a later visit? And how could he say, "I have done *one* work, and ye all marvel" (vii. 21) when he had performed many miracles at the preceding Passover (ii. 23)?

We find similar traces of faulty fitting in the later chapters. In P the departures from the feasts were clearly mentioned (from Tabernacles, viii. 1 and iv. 45; and from Dedication, x. 39, 40). I have already pointed out the lack in this new edition of a return from the unnamed feast in chapter v.; but the omission is even more striking in the case of Tabernacles, which ends abruptly with the comment of the multitude, "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?" (x. 21); and the account then proceeds without pause, "And it was the Feast of Dedication at Jerusalem" (x. 22).

There is a further point in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles. We follow the stages clearly up to a point. Jesus goes up to it (vii. 10); "About the midst of the Feast" he teaches in the Temple (vii. 14); "In the last day, the great day of the Feast" (vii. 37) he again teaches in the Temple; and then we lose sight of any time indications, though chapter viii. contains a long discourse and ix. the Healing of the Blind Man.

I do not propose to elaborate the argument further, for if the reader is not convinced, I do not suppose that any more details would achieve that effect. And I proceed to the second stage of the compilation.

10. THE SECOND STAGE OF COMPILATION: THE FULLER INCORPORATION OF RD

Up to this point we have simply P embellished with matter from RD, and altered in its narrative sequence in order to make room for such matter. No use has so far been made of RN.

Now, owing to the restrictions of his method, as discussed above (Section 7), S had made a very incomplete use of RD. For example, he had not included any part of "the True Vine"; he had made but the barest reference (see x. 26-29) to "the Good Shepherd"; and he had quoted only a few verses (viii. 12; ix. 5; and xi. 9, 10) from "the Light of the World." He had also added, modified and rearranged to a very considerable extent. It is not surprising if some of the Elders looked askance at the result. And it was decided, I suggest, as a first step, to incorporate *the whole* of RD (a decision for which we may be devoutly thankful).

But this raised a very practical problem. Was the whole of the work done hitherto to be "scrapped," and the new compiler to start afresh—a course which would at least involve making, as a preliminary, another copy of P, as it stood before S began his task? Or would it be possible to utilize the manuscript as it left the hands of T, and simply to add those verses which S had omitted, or in certain cases, where he had made changes of doubtful value, to give the original versions, either in addition to, or in substitution of, his versions?

To elucidate this last point, let me recall the two versions of "the Witnesses," as I believe them to have stood originally. RD (v. 31-33, 35, 36):

"If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true; but He that beareth witness of me is other than I: and I know that the witness which He beareth of me is true.

"Ye have sent unto John, and he hath borne witness of the truth: he was as a lamp that burneth and shineth: and ye were willing to rejoice for a season in his light.

"But I have a witness greater than that of John: The Father Himself, who hath sent me, hath borne witness of me: and the Works that I do bear witness of me."

PD (viii. 13, 14 (pt.), 17, 18, 19 (pt.)):

"The Pharisees therefore said unto him [the blind man], 'Thou bearest witness of thyself. Thy witness is not true.'

"He answered and said unto them, 'Even if I bear witness of myself my witness is true. Yea, and in your Law it is written that the witness of two men is true. I am one that beareth witness of myself, and he that sent me beareth witness.'

"They said therefore unto him, 'Where is he?'

“ He answered again, ‘ I know not.’ ”

I need hardly argue the improbability that one author wrote both passages (even as the second stands in the Fourth Gospel), or urge on the score of sense and style that the first is the true version. To us it would seem simpler to have expunged the second version. What the new compiler actually did was to reconvert the saying of the blind man into a saying of Christ, by introducing the passage with another saying (viii. 12), “ I am the light of the world,” etc.; changing “ he ” in viii. 14 to “ Jesus,” “ he that sent me ” in viii. 18 to “ the Father that sent me,” and “ he ” in viii. 19 to “ thy Father ”; and expunging the last verse. This still leaves the curious contradiction between v. 31, “ If I bear witness of myself, my witness *is not* true,” and viii. 14, “ Even if I bear witness of myself, my witness *is* true.”

A case where the new compiler (whom it will be convenient to call C) intended to *correct* the work of S is indicated by the MSS. variants of x. 29.

The reading of the best MSS. (followed by the Latin Vulgate, “ Pater meus quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est ”) is “ That which the Father hath given me is greater than all ”: but there is another reading (adopted by the English translators), “ My Father, who hath given (them) unto me, is greater than all.” In the first reading “ that which ” is neuter, as it is in vi. 29 also (“ that of all that which He hath given me I should lose nothing ”).

Comparing the end of x. 28 (“ no one shall snatch them out of *my* hand ”), I feel no doubt that the original saying was, “ That which the Father hath given me is greater than all ” (i.e. power supreme), “ and no one shall snatch it out of my hand ” (i.e. wrest it from my grasp). Modifying it, and combining it with phrases taken from The Good Shepherd, to form a new discourse,¹ S gave to “ the gift of the Father ” a more personal turn.² C, on checking his work with the original, and observing the misquotation, wrote the true version in the margin, and some MSS. have luckily preserved it.

It is evident, then, that C, the scholar to whom the Elders entrusted the revision of the compilation, and who is the

¹ Pseudo-Johannine Discourse NN.

² See also Appendix III (4).

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author of the Fourth Gospel in its present form, decided to utilize the work of S so far as he could.

Parts of this task were not difficult. For example, since S had hardly touched them, C could insert "the Good Shepherd" (x. 1-16) and "the True Vine" (xv. 1-8) *en bloc*; though he did this with a curious abruptness and lack of any attempt at a narrative introduction. Similarly, he could without difficulty insert a considerable block of the Prologue which S had omitted (iii. 16-21) in continuation of S's version of "the Rebirth of the Spirit" (iii. 1-14).

But in other places he evidently experienced extreme difficulty. To use an expressive vulgarism, S had "queered his pitch" by breaking up the original Discourses, making partial quotations, and modifying the turn of verses. C's method evidently was to make a note of all the omitted verses, and to insert each in close proximity to a verse in which he saw some similarity of ideas. To give an individual instance, he has put in the true verse, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live" (v. 25)—an assurance of spiritual regeneration—alongside the spurious verse (v. 28, 29), "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice [or 'the voice of the Son of Man'], and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation"—a promise of bodily resurrection. And for a whole passage placed in this way see chapter vi., where we find two versions¹ of "the Bread of Life" almost side by side.

The result of this method is not happy. Not a few students of the Fourth Gospel have been struck by the incoherence of some of the discourses, an incoherence the more astonishing because of the lucid beauty of others. Indeed, at least one German professor has roundly stated that St. John was muddle-headed, and that his thoughts seem to "tumble over each other." It does not seem to have occurred to the worthy gentleman to ask himself whether possibly it is to the muddle-headedness of some one other than St. John that his own bewilderment is to be ascribed. If, indeed, the man who penned the glorious seventeenth chapter of the Gospel—surely one of the greatest poems ever uttered—wrote

¹ For the original texts (RD and PD) see pp. 172 and 187.

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the last half of the fifth chapter *as it now stands*, he presents a riddle of psychology which is hard to solve. But did he ?

I think I can give an ocular demonstration of C's method. Take the passage v. 30-47. The construction of it, according to my view, is this :

<i>Left Margin.</i>	<i>Central Column.</i>	<i>Right Margin.</i>
(31) 1 2 3—3	(30) 1 2 3 4 5 6—6	(33) 1 2 3—3
(32) 1 2 3 4—4	(34 (i)) 1 2—2	(35) 1 2 3 4 5—5
(36 (i)) 1 2—2	(36 (iii)) 1 2 3—3	(37) 1 2 3 4 5 6—6
(36 (ii)) 1 2—2	(42) 1 2 3—3	(43 (ii)) 1 2 3—3
(38) 1 2 3 4—4	(43 (i)) 1 2 3—3	(44) 1 2 3 4 5—5
(39) 1 2 3 4 5—5	(45) 1 2 3 4 5—5	(47) 1 2 3 4 5—5
(40) 1 2—2	(46) 1 2 3 4—4	
(34 (ii)) 1 2—2		
(41) 1 2—2		
— 26 lines	— 26 lines	— 26 lines

To explain this diagram : I am convinced, by a series of experiments, that what C did was to write down the Pseudo-Johannine Discourses in a long thin column with broad margins, and then fill in those margins right and left with verses, or parts of verses, that S had omitted. The lines in each column so formed consisted of sixteen to nineteen Greek letters, and in the diagram I have shown the

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number of such lines in each verse. It would, of course, be best to give the full text in the Greek, but, as the reader may not be familiar with that language, I append the English translation in three columns.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING COMPOSITION OF CHAPTER V. 30-47
OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

<i>Left Column</i>	<i>Central Column</i>	<i>Right Column</i>
(31) If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.	(30) I can of myself do nothing: as I am bidden I do [judge] because I seek not mine own will but the will of Him that sent me.	(33) Ye sent unto John, and he hath borne witness to the truth.
(32) But he that beareth witness of me is other than I, and I know that the witness which he beareth of me is true.	(34) I receive not witness from men.	(35) He was a lamp that burneth and shineth, and ye were willing to rejoice for a season in his light.
(36 (i)) But I have a witness greater than that of John.	(36 (iii)) But the works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me.	(37 (i)) And the Father Himself who hath sent me, hath borne witness of me.
(36 (ii)) The works that the Father hath given me to finish.	(42) But I know that ye have not the love of God in yourselves.	(37 (ii)) Ye have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape.
(38) And ye have not His word abiding in you, for whom He hath sent, ye believe not.	(43 (i)) For I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not.	(43 (ii)) If another shall come in his own name, him will ye receive.
(39) Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think that ye have eternal life. They are they which bear witness of me.	(45) Think not that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one who accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye have set your hope.	(44) How can ye believe, who receive glory from one another, yet seek not the glory that cometh from the only God.
(40) Yet will ye not come to me that ye may have life.	(46) For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me.	(47) But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my sayings?
(34 (ii)) Yet these things I say, that ye may be saved.		
(41) I receive not glory from men.		

The central column is Pseudo-Johannine Discourse HH; the side columns are chiefly composed of the following sections of the seven Reproofs:

II. The Testimony of the Scriptures.

III. The Glory of the Son.

VI. The Witnesses of the Son.

To go into more detail, verses 31, 32, 33, 35, 37 (i) are

the remaining verses of "the Witnesses of the Son" from which S had taken only a brief extract (36 (iii)), while 36 (i) and 36 (ii) complete that verse. 37 (ii) and 38 ("Ye have not His Word abiding in you," and "Ye have not heard His voice") are intended to be supplementary to 42, "Ye have not the love of God in yourselves"; 39, 40 and 47 supplement the brief extracts—45 (last part) and 46—which S had made from "the Testimony of the Scriptures"; and 41, 43 (ii) and 44 form a similar supplement to 43 (i) ("the Glory of the Son").

The case of 34 (ii) is interesting. I can assure the reader that I have not placed it in the left-hand column merely to make the number of lines up to 26. (For that matter it could have been placed higher in the column, opposite 34 (i).) But surely the present verse 34 of the Fourth Gospel is peculiar. "Yet I say these things that ye may be saved" is not a very natural conclusion to "I receive not witness from men." But it does make a very natural conclusion (even if it was not the original conclusion) to "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." That, I suggest, is what C intended when he inserted it between verses 40 and 41. But when a fair copy of C's work was made, the copyist made a double error. He took the words as meant to be attached to 41, and then by a slip coupled them not with 41 ("I receive not glory from men") but with the very similar verse 34 ("I receive not witness from men").

One may observe here that, if C's work was not easy, the copyist's work was far harder. He had to make a lateral combination of three horizontal columns. The real wonder is not that the result is rather incoherent, but that it is not more incoherent.

In regard to the genuine Discourses, which I believe myself to have restored in my text of "the Doctrine of the Father and the Son," I call attention to an important point of style; and, in order not to begin with a saying that is in dispute, I quote Matthew xi. 28-30 and Luke x. 16:

(1) "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and *heavy-laden*, and I will give you *rest*."

"Take my *yoke* and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart: and ye shall find *rest* unto your souls."

"For my *yoke* is easy, and my *load* is light."

(2) "He that heareth you heareth me: and he that despis-

eth you despiseth me ; and he that despiseth me despiseth Him that sent me."

The first characteristic to notice is the triple division, which I believe to have been a marked feature of the Master's style. It seems greatly to have attracted, and to have been imitated by, St. John. For we find it in his own prologue. For example :

(1) " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

(2) " The same was in the beginning with God.

(3) " All things were made by Him : and without Him was not anything made that was made."

Though it is, of course, not universal, it is frequent ; and I believe it to be an important guide to the correct grouping of sayings. I would ask the reader to study my text of RD, and especially the Seven Reproofs, mark how often it occurs, and ask himself whether it is not a powerful help to the understanding and to the memory (and Jesus was nothing if not practical as a teacher).

A second characteristic is the recurrence of dominant notes. Observe, for example, in the quotation from Matthew, the repetition " heavy-laden . . . rest . . . yoke . . . rest . . . yoke . . . load." Then look at " the Good Shepherd " and mark the constant recurrence of such notes as *safe, voice, life*. The reader can find examples almost at random. The style is like a fugue by a master-musician ; the most wonderful style in all the world. And I venture to think that if by reading, and re-reading, we can absorb its rhythms, we can go far toward recognizing a genuine saying of our Lord.

11. THE SECOND STAGE OF COMPILATION : THE INCORPORATION OF RN : SOME PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON RN

The decision to incorporate " the Story of the Loved Disciple " was, in my opinion (based on certain features of the compilation), taken when the fuller insertion of RD was already in progress. But before I describe the method of compilation, I make some general observations.

It is indisputable that the Fourth Gospel contains a claim that it (or at the very least some part of it) was written by

“that disciple, whom Jesus loved, who leaned on his breast at the supper” (cf. xxi. 20, 24, and xix. 35). It is indisputable that the writer definitely indicates his presence in a number of scenes. He is at the Supper (xiii. 23): he is in the Garden when Jesus is arrested, for with Peter he follows Jesus to the palace and secures Peter’s entry into it (xviii. 15); and he stands beneath the Cross (xix. 26). There is no room, surely, for the possibility that from the beginning of the Supper to the Burial he was at any time elsewhere than with his Master. Other scenes, where he expressly mentions his presence, are the race to the tomb with Peter (xx. 2), the draught of fishes at the Sea of Galilee (xxi. 7), and the command to Peter to feed the sheep (xxi. 20); and it is hardly reasonable to doubt that he is the unnamed Disciple who with Andrew was first called at the Jordan (i. 40).

This, of course, has been noticed by myriads of readers. What is perhaps not so commonly noticed is that, *where the Disciple is present, Peter is always present or near at hand*. And it is Peter who is the striking and prominent figure.

Now, is it not a little remarkable that neither the Disciple nor Peter is mentioned as being present at the performance of any miracle? ¹ It is not as if no disciple at all is named. Philip, Andrew, Thomas, Nathanael all play their little parts. Nor is it as if there were no opportunity for their introduction. Had Jesus addressed Peter in vi. 5, and had the Disciple spoken in vi. 9, should we not say that it was natural for the Master to consult the leader of the Twelve, and for the Disciple, as that leader’s constant attendant, to offer a suggestion? And the absence of Peter from so many of the scenes in the Gospel, as contrasted with his very vivid presence in others, surely gives some warrant for the belief that the one scene in which Peter appears when the Disciple is not specifically mentioned as present belongs to the Story of the Disciple; namely, Peter’s declaration of faith (vi. 66–71).

That declaration is very remarkable in its wording. In the Synoptic versions it is invited with the question, “Whom say ye that I am?” And Peter answers (whether thoughtfully, vehemently or dutifully we are not told), “Thou art the Christ (the Son of God)” — a bare form of words. And now look at the Disciple’s story. The disciples are falling

¹ Unless we are to regard “the Draught of Fishes” as such. But see pp. 51–52.

away from Jesus ; many will walk with him no more. The Master turns sorrowfully to his faithful Twelve. "Will ye also go away?" And like a flash comes Peter's answer, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe—nay, are sure—that thou art the Holy One of God." It brings the tears to one's eyes.

The Words of Eternal Life; the Holy One of God. Are we not here in a spiritual atmosphere wholly distinct from that of the miracle stories in which Nathanael perceives Jesus to be "the Son of God, the King of Israel" (i. 49), because he has exhibited more than human vision or knowledge and the Woman of Sychar hails him as "the Christ" (iv. 29) on being told that she had had five husbands?

Again and again in those sections of the Gospel in which the presence of the Disciple is recorded, and which therefore bear the hall-mark of his authorship, we find passages of an almost overpowering beauty, sentences that we can hardly read without a catch in our breath.

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

"Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me *Master* and *Lord*, and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do unto each other as I have done to you."

Is this the Jesus who rejoices that he was not present to heal his friend, and the brother of his friends, "to the intent that ye may believe"; who threatens the Jews, "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins"?

But it is not only in the Master's words that we find loveliness. Think of Peter's humble, "Lord, not my feet only, but my hands and my head," and his anguished cry, "Lord, thou knowest all things. Thou *knowest* that I love thee."

And there is not only beauty in the story, but drama that is all the more effective for the quietness of its swift sure touches. Recall those simple words, "And it was night," that conjure up as with a flash of magic the lamplit room, the black space of the doorway with the figure of Judas slinking out to his black treachery, the Light of the World, the darkness soon to fall; the picture of Pilate, strange blend of cynicism and conscience, scorn and timidity—"What is Truth?" "Behold the *Man*"; "Shall I crucify your

King ? ”; “What I have written, I have written ”; and—that searing comment on the bestial fickleness of the mob—“Now Barabbas was a robber.”

Study the story of Peter’s denial. In the Synoptic versions Peter is merely the braggart who fails to make good his boast. How is it that he, who at least has the courage to stand when others fly, to draw his sword in a forlorn hope against a multitude, to follow hotfoot to the trial chamber, fails as his Master foretold that he would fail? Now mark the steps, as the Disciple tells the tale. Peter is at the door of the palace, and the Disciple entreats the maid to admit him. She turns to him (perhaps his Galilæan accent has betrayed him), “Surely thou art one of this man’s disciples?” He saith, “I am not.” Can we blame him? He would have been turned away from the door had he admitted it. Was he really more cowardly than if he had mumbled “I am” and slunk back into the darkness? He comes in, and with extraordinary skill the writer paints the bleak coldness of the hour when human courage is at its lowest ebb. Peter stands huddling by the fire, alone, unfriended, in a circle of foes. Suddenly, as the trial proceeds, an attendant strikes the Lord across the mouth. Peter, we may think (the writer often leaves it to our imagination to draw an inference) makes an involuntary cry or gesture. His neighbours at the fire turn on him, “Surely thou art one of his disciples?” He denies again. He wants to see the trial out. And then without warning he is challenged by a kinsman of Malchus, the man whose ear he had cut off: “Did I not see thee in the garden with him?” He recalls his savage blow: he is in deadly peril, not for his loyalty to his Master but of retaliation for a deed of violence. His nerve gives way. He denies a third time. “And immediately the cock crew.”

It is typical of the writer’s method that he does not (like the Synoptists) tell us that Peter hurried out—it is enough that he disappears from the scene; or that he wept—he has drawn Peter for us, can we doubt how Peter felt? He is content to conjure up that clear note sounding in the chilly dawn: “And immediately the cock crew.”

Vividness, picturesqueness, realism—these you will find in the stories of the miracles. But this transcendent beauty, this drama, above all this *economy* of art, surely you will look for them in vain.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I have spoken at some length of these characteristics of style, because before we can discuss the process of the compilation we must form a clear opinion as to the allocation of passages to RN. I shall not argue further that in the Gospel narrative there are two hands at work, two mental atmospheres, two styles of writing, of a very different order. But it still remains to decide which scenes, which groups of verses, and sometimes even which individual verses, belong to one or other of the two accounts.

12. THE SECOND STAGE OF COMPILATION : THE INCORPORATION OF RN : THE ALLOCATION OF PASSAGES TO RN

Very shortly to recapitulate and restate the argument in the foregoing sections, P has for its theme the manifestation of Jesus as the Son of God through his mighty works. And those mighty works are done, apparently, not so much for the benefit of those affected (Lazarus, for example, or the Blind Man), as for the purpose of glorifying the Son of a Father, who can speak out of the sky with a voice that the multitude mistakes for thunder. The mission of the Son of God seems, in short, chiefly to prove himself the Son of God. In RN the mission of Jesus is to reveal to the world, by mercy, love and, above all, self-sacrifice, the existence of a loving Father, the Eternal Word, the all-pervading Spirit of Truth, whose voice no man can hear, whose shape no man hath seen, save with the ear and vision of the spirit. Jesus is the incarnate Son of the Spirit, sent by his Father to mankind, and ever conscious of obedience to the command of "Him that sent him."

If we recognize the vast difference between those two conceptions of the Father and the Son, and fortify that recognition by observing the indications of authorship in the presence of Peter and the Disciple on the scene, we surely cannot go far wrong in the assignation of passages to the Story of the Disciple.

I take this opportunity of commenting on two passages, which, while on grounds of style they certainly do not belong to P, may possibly have been inserted from sources other than RN: namely, "the Harvest" (iv. 35-38), and "the Woman taken in Adultery" (vii. 53-viii. 11).

The Harvest

This beautiful saying is introduced very abruptly in chapter iv., following "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work." It is a saying that can stand independently, and might well be included in any anthology of sayings of Jesus without any particular narrative context. It can hardly belong to RD, which has a special theme; and though it might come from a collection, made by the Disciple, of sayings on more general topics, the style is surely Johannine. I have myself included it in the First Book of RN, "the Ministry of Jesus"; but I may be wrong.¹

The Woman taken in Adultery

This wonderful story, which almost more than any other, brings home to any but a case-hardened prig the loving mercy of our Lord, is nowadays generally treated as an interpolation in the Fourth Gospel. It is marked as such in our Revised Version of the New Testament; which means that in the opinion of the editors it was not recorded by the Disciple.

The evidence, briefly, is this: (1) The story does not appear at all in some MSS. of the Fourth Gospel; in some MSS. it is found at the end of the Gospel; and in one group of MSS. of the New Testament it is placed not in the Fourth Gospel at all but in the Third (following Luke xxi. 38). (2) The story speaks of "the Scribes and Pharisees," and nowhere else in the Fourth Gospel are the Scribes mentioned. (3) As a point of style, the writer employs for "and" the Greek connecting particle *δέ*, which the author of the Fourth Gospel usually avoids. (He generally either has no connecting particle or he uses *καὶ* or *οὖν*—the "therefore" which, though not an English usage, so constantly recurs in the English translation.)

I myself believe the tale to be a part of the Disciple's Story of the Passion, and I will explain why. But first let me meet the above objections.

(1) Though modern Christians recognize the beauty of the story, it is easy to see that the Early Fathers (like the old Scotchwoman who didn't "think any better of the Lord" for breaking the Sabbath) may have felt uncomfortable

¹ But note that it covers just two "pages" of RN. See pages 60 and 121.

about it. In an age of low moral standards was it really desirable to publish an account in which Jesus refused to condemn an adulteress? I suggest that the omission of the story by some editors, and its relegation to an appendix by others, only betokens a very intelligible doubt.

(2) It is surely as possible that "Scribes and Pharisees" is a gloss on "Priests" (and the reading of Codex D suggests this) as that the whole passage is derived from another source. Even if "Scribes" stood in the original, a firsthand knowledge of the Temple organization, such as the Disciple ("known to the High Priest") possessed, might show that in this public testing of Jesus' view of the Mosaic Law their appearance is peculiarly appropriate.

(3) The question of style leads to wider considerations. Let us admit that there *is* a difference in style. But in the passage i. 19-27 we find an equally marked difference. The recording of a question ("Art thou that prophet?") in i. 21 without any preliminary word "said" is unparalleled: questions are prefaced three times (i. 19, 21, 25) with "asked," where the author of the Fourth Gospel ordinarily employs the verb "say": the verb *ἐφη* ("said"), which appears in i. 23, is extremely rare in the Gospel: in replies to questions we find the formula "answered, saying," which is most unusual, and do not find the formula "answered and said," which is elsewhere so common; and the Levites (i. 19) are, like the scribes, nowhere else mentioned. But do scholars propose to treat i. 19-27 as an interpolation on grounds of style?

The fact is that, if an historian, who employs sources, has studied his sources closely, there is a tendency, when he is reproducing them in detail, to assimilate their style at that point; and this is especially the case with work composed on the scissors-and-paste method.

I may give an example from my own experience (and I am sure that some of my readers can bear it out). I was once commissioned by Government to make a digest of a number of detailed reports by other officers, and to produce a single report which was, so far as possible, to "bear the impress of a single style." The task naturally involved much "scissors-and-paste" work, and it had to be done quickly. Now, the individual reports varied immensely in style. It would not have been in accordance with my instructions to reproduce them verbatim in quotation marks; on the other

hand, to rewrite them all in my own style would have been very tedious. I therefore did what I could in the time at my disposal; I rewrote in my own style passages whose style was in glaring conflict with my own, and I was content to alter in others only a few words and phrases.

There is no doubt in my own mind that, just as Luke and Matthew have to some extent modified the style of the verses which they draw from Mark, so the compiler of the Fourth Gospel has in places modified the style of his sources, so that at a casual glance the style of the compilation appears to be uniform. (And, of course, in English translation it is even more uniform than in the Greek.)

To return to the Story of "the Woman taken in Adultery," I have observed above that evidently the authorities responsible for the compilation felt a doubt whether it should be included. If, when the work was otherwise completed, they made an eleventh-hour decision to include it, they would probably be content to indicate to the copyists the place where it should be copied in; and owing to the differences of opinion, and hence of demand, it would appear in some copies at the end of the Gospel, in others it would be inserted where it now stands. *But in either case it would escape the stylistic revision of the compiler.*

Now, to consider its attribution to the Disciple's story of the Passion, there are to my mind two strong arguments against deriving it from a collection of memories of Jesus. The first is the narrative opening, "And every man went to his own house. But Jesus went unto the Mount of Olives." Surely it is a very queer introduction to a story which, in the view of those who treat it as an interpolation, is drawn from such a collection. The second is that in my view the episode is an integral part of the Passion narrative. At the opening of Passion week the people of Jerusalem are wholeheartedly supporting Jesus. It is only the clique of the priesthood that wishes for this very reason to destroy him. And, if we may judge by the abuses prevalent in eastern shrines to-day, the Cleansing of the Temple was probably approved by many devout and conscientious Jews. In that act Jesus was striking at an abuse which certainly had not the sanction of the Mosaic Law. But his treatment of the Woman taken in Adultery was on the face of it a deliberate flouting of the injunction that she should be stoned. The accusers had

intended and expected him to flout it ; and they were successful in their object. He may have made them feel like whipped curs ; but may not his action have alienated many of the "unco' guid" who hitherto had followed him ?

I have discussed this case at length, for two reasons :

(a) Even if my general theory be accepted, that the narrative of the Gospel is derived from two distinct sources, there must remain differences of opinion about some individual verses and even passages. One cannot expect unanimity of view. And I do earnestly hope that the critic will not damn the main thesis because he feels that here and there he disagrees with my treatment of particular scenes.

(b) Spiritual atmosphere and range of ideas (which luckily are within the consideration of ordinary readers and not only of expert Greek scholars) are a far truer guide to the correct allocation of passages than the *minutiae* of Greek grammar and phraseology.

13. THE FIRST BOOK OF RN : THE MINISTRY OF JESUS

As I have said, unanimity of opinion as to the detail of reconstruction is not to be expected. My own results are based on the patient labours of three years ; but as I have from time to time modified my own views on points of detail, it would be unreasonable to expect the reader to agree with my present view on every point, the more so because it would be quite impossible for me to place before him all the considerations which have led me to that view. Such a task would involve in some passages writing ten lines of notes to every line of the text : apart from the limitations of expense and space, it would divert attention from my main argument ; and it belongs rather to a critical edition of the story. I ask the critic to study my text of RN and to ask himself, not whether he accepts my placement of verses in each and every detail, but two questions : (1) Does it present a coherent story ? (2) Do not the passages included in it reveal one spiritual atmosphere, one range of intellectual conception, and one quality of art—an atmosphere, a conception and an art to which the Gospel of St. Philip is a stranger ?

From this point, then, I shall proceed on the assumption that broadly (if not in every detail) " the Story of the Disciple "

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was as I have reconstructed it, and devote myself to explaining how, in my view, the compiler came to insert its chapters (or parts of chapters) where he did in the revised and expanded edition of P.

First, to consider the First Book of the story, "the Ministry of Jesus": its sections (for the full text the reader must consult pp. 122-126 and the verse index) are as follows:

- Section I. The Witness of John the Baptist.
,, II. The Call of Andrew and the Disciple.
,, III. The Calling of Peter.
,, IV. The Harvest.
,, V. The Food of the Son of Man.
,, VI. The Teaching in the Synagogue at Capernaum:
"A prophet hath no honour in his own country."
,, VII. The *Great Draught* of Fishes.

I pause for a moment to comment on the shortness of this book. I do not suggest that the above sections were the complete book: I believe that this part of the story was in the main a collection of scenes and sayings which illustrated, not the works of Jesus, but the Love and Mercy of his character and teaching; that it was, in fact, the book from which (either in an earlier edition or in an oral form) St. Luke drew much of the material for chapters x.-xviii. of the Third Gospel. If the reader has grasped the purpose and the scheme of P, he will readily realize the unsuitability of most of such material for incorporation in the Gospel of Works; and the very fact that Luke had used it may have been an additional reason for not including it.

Coming now to the placing of the scenes, that of Section I is obvious. I need only call attention to two points:

(i) In i. 26 (of the Fourth Gospel) John says, on the day before the baptism of Jesus, "There standeth one among you whom ye know not" (clearly contrasting their lack of knowledge with his own knowledge). In i. 31 he says on the day of the baptism, "I knew him not" (until I saw the Dove descending on him as he came). That is a small failure to reconcile the two sources.

(ii) John's vision of the Dove is clearly meant to be subjective and spiritual. This is what we should expect in "the spiritual Gospel"; it is not what we should expect in P (con-

trast the audible voice from heaven in xii. 28). I have little doubt that P had some verse comparable to Luke iii. 22 which was superseded in the compilation by the verse from RN.

Sections II and III. *The Call of Andrew, Peter and the Disciple.*—The context for this was ready-made.

Sections IV and V. *The Harvest, and the Food of the Son of Man.*—Whatever view we take of the source of these sayings, they were evidently spoken in the open-air on a journey, and the journey through Samaria was the scene in which it was natural to insert them.

Section VI. *The Teaching in the Synagogue at Capernaum.*—The reconstruction of this scene is more controversial; and I must appeal here to the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels. Although Jesus was known as “Jesus of Nazareth” (presumably his boyhood was spent there), Matthew (iv. 13) expressly tells us that at the time of the Ministry Jesus had taken up his residence at Capernaum, and it was as a householder of Capernaum that he was called on to pay tribute (Matthew xvii. 24). Neither Mark nor Matthew places the scene of Jesus’s teaching or labours at Nazareth, and I think it is clear that the “home-town” (a more correct translation of πατρίδα in Mark vi. 1 and Matthew xiii. 54 than “own country”), in which the people jeered at Jesus as the son of the carpenter, was Capernaum.

This part of the episode, as told by the Synoptists, the Fourth Gospel does place at Capernaum (cf. vi. 24 and 59). But here arises a peculiar point. The Gospel elsewhere draws a very clear distinction between Jews and Galilæans (see, for example, vii. 1: “Jesus walked in Galilee, because in Jewry the Jews were seeking to kill him”). What, then, were “Jews” doing in a Galilæan synagogue? They cannot be outsiders from Jerusalem, for they clearly refer to Joseph as a fellow-townsmen. The fact, as I see it, is that P is a *Galilæan* Gospel, and to its author the Jews were semi-foreigners: the Disciple, writing at Ephesus for Greeks, naturally referred to Galilæans, no less than Judæans, as Jews.

The other part of the episode, as told by the Synoptists—the astonishment of the people that Jesus should speak with authority, “never having learned”—the compiler has placed at Jerusalem (vii. 15). This naturally prompts the

question, "How could the people of Jerusalem, to whom he was a stranger, know what his education had been?"

But it is not difficult to understand C's choice of a context for the insertion. Jesus's wisdom was, in his view, a semi-miraculous exhibition of knowledge, and the Temple was the fitting place for its display.

Section VII. *The Draught of Fishes*.—My placing of this scene is at first sight still more controversial. Generations of readers have associated it with the appearance of the Risen Lord.

But, as many critics have observed, "the miraculous draught of fishes" (as it is called) is said by Luke to have taken place at the outset of the Ministry, and to have been the occasion of the calling of Peter and the Sons of Zebedee. The argument that there might have been two "miraculous draughts" has been dismissed by many critics (not myself alone) as disingenuous; and the placing of the story at the end of the Fourth Gospel is a notorious "Johannine problem."

I must pause for a moment to discuss the calls of Peter and Andrew, James and John. Mark tells us that both sets of brothers were called by the Sea of Galilee at Capernaum (cf. Mark i. 16-21), and his account is followed by Matthew (iv. 18, read with iv. 13). If the Marcan tradition is correct, then the Johannine account, which tells us that Andrew and Peter were called at the Jordan, is wrong; and vice versa; and no one could *forget* where they had been called. That is another notorious Johannine problem.

Now study Luke's version in more detail. In the first place, do not the mention of Peter's mother in Luke iv. 38 and the very form of Peter's speech in Luke v. 5 and 8 both seem to imply that Peter was a disciple before "the miraculous draught of fishes"? When we add that Andrew is not mentioned, and that there is a variant ending of Luke v. 10-11, in which only the Sons of Zebedee are called, does it not look as if the original Lucan version ended at verse 9 of chapter v., and was simply (like the Disciple's) a story of a wonderful Draught of Fishes, and that it was some later reviser who sought to make it the occasion of the disciples' calling? It remains that Luke places the episode at the outset of the Ministry.

And now I suggest that John xxi. 1-14 is a "conflation" of two stories, or in other words, the compiler has grafted on to P's original story of a resurrection appearance the Disciple's story of the Draught of Fishes.

Let me call attention to certain points. In verse 7 the Loved Disciple says to Peter, "It is the Lord," and thereupon Peter, very characteristically, leaps into the sea and swims to shore, to meet his Master. In verse 12 we are told that none of the Disciples durst ask him "Who art thou?" knowing that it was the Lord. Seeing that Jesus had been recognized already, what was the temptation to put the question? And if Peter was not afraid to rush to meet him, why should he be afraid to speak to him? Again, in verse 5 Jesus asks, "Have ye any meat?" When they say "No," he proceeds to secure meat by the miraculous Draught of Fishes. Is it, then, not rather strange that, before they could make any use of this miracle, and just as they are dragging the nets to land (verse 8), they see a fire of coals burning, and fish already laid thereon, with bread? Does this not make the Draught of Fishes rather superfluous except as a demonstration of magical power? And finally, there is a queer point in the Greek, namely, the word used in verse 10, "Bring of the fish which ye have now caught." In verse 6 and again in verse 11 the word used for "fish" is the common *ἰχθύς* (*ichthys*) as in the Lucan version. In verses 9 and 13 it is *ὀψάριον* (*opsarion*). Now *ὀψάριον* means essentially something cooked. It *may* be fish; it *might* be anything cooked. It is not inappropriate of the fish baked on the coals or of the two fishes which the lad had with him (vi. 9) at the Feeding of the Multitude. But in verse 10 *ὀψάριον* is used of the fresh fish just caught. I cannot find that it is ever so used elsewhere; and even if I am wrong, does it not still remain remarkable that in a story of a few short verses the writer should use two different words for fish? And is it not still more remarkable that we should find what is at least the less appropriate word in a verse by omitting which we can divide the story into two independent stories? I reproduce the two stories side by side at the end of this section. The reader may recognize that the first has considerable resemblances to Luke v. 2-9, while the other recalls Luke xxiv. 36-43.

One point arises about the Draught of Fishes. Did the Disciple intend it to be looked on as a miracle? Clearly it is

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not inevitable that we should so regard it. The Disciples have had no luck. They have drawn up their nets. Jesus, standing on the shore, sees signs, which are unobserved by them, and he calls to them to let down the net. The writer seems content to state the facts and to leave us to draw what inference we will. But the episode is noteworthy for the light which it throws on the character of Peter; and that, I believe, was the Disciple's reason for recording it.

<i>The Draught of Fishes.</i>	<i>The Third Appearance of the Risen Lord.</i>
(2) There were together Simon Peter and the Sons of Zebedee, and other two of his disciples. (3) Simon Peter saith unto them, "I go a fishing." They say unto him, "We also go with thee." They went forth, and entered into a boat immediately: and that night they caught nothing. (4) But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. (5) And he said unto them, "Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and ye shall find." They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it up for the multitude of fishes (τῶν ἰχθύων). (7) Then the disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, "It is the Lord." And when Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's cloak about him (for he was stripped) and cast himself into the sea. (8) And the other disciples came in the dinghy (τῷ πλοιαρίῳ)—for they were not far from land, but about two hundred cubits—dragging the net full of fishes (τῶν ἰχθύων). (9 (i)) As soon then as they were come to land (11) Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of fishes (μεστὸν ἰχθύων) [great ones, a hundred and fifty and three]: and for all that there were so many, yet was not the net broken.	(1) After these things Jesus manifested himself again to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias. And he manifested himself thus. (2) There were together Thomas called Didymus and Nathanael of Cana of Galilee: and others of his disciples. (13 (i)) Jesus cometh. (12 (ii)) And none of the disciples durst ask him "Who art thou?" knowing that it was the Lord. (5) Jesus therefore saith unto them "Children, have ye any meat?" They answered him "No." (12 (i)) Jesus saith unto them, "Come hither and break your fast." (9 (ii)) They see a fire of coals there, and a fish (ὄψαριον) laid thereon, and bread. (13 (ii)) And he taketh the bread and giveth to them, and the fish (τὸ ὄψαριον) likewise. (14) This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to the disciples after that he was risen from the dead. The compiler's joining verse: [(10) Jesus saith unto them "Bring of the fish (ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψαρίων) which ye have now caught."]

NOTE

In the compilation the haul is plainly meant to be miraculous. The fishes number 153—the number of species of fish known to the ancient zoologists. Thus the catch is symbolical of the inclusive character of Christ's mission. But the inserter of the number is in difficulties: 153 was the number of species *great and small*. A catch of 153 fishes of various sizes would not be an overwhelming haul for a big fishing-net. Therefore he has to insert the adjective "great." But this really contradicts the point of the number. I may say that I am not by any means the first commentator to cast doubts on the authenticity of the words, "great ones, a hundred and fifty and three" (μεγάλων, ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα τριῶν).

14. THE SECOND BOOK OF RN, "THE PASSION OF JESUS":
DID P CONTAIN AN ACCOUNT OF THE PASSION ?

As already remarked (p. 40), the presence of the Disciple on the scene is either expressly stated or implied from the opening of the Supper to the visit of the two Disciples with Mary to the tomb; and (with the exception of a few interpolations and extracts from RD) the whole of the narrative of the Passion belongs to the Story of the Disciple.

Having regard to the fact that elsewhere P is the basic narrative, and that (if we may judge by the completeness of it) the compiler omitted nothing (or at most half a dozen sentences), the question naturally arises whether P had an account of the Passion, and, if so, what was the scope of that account ?

It may be that in the account of the Ministry P and RN did not come into contact, and hence the compiler had no temptation to supersede P's version with that of RN, but that, when he came to the Passion story, he naturally preferred the evidence of St. John, as an unimpeachable eye-witness, and therefore altogether suppressed the narrative of P. But though he might have thought St. John the *better* witness, I cannot imagine that he would have regarded the evidence of P as *negligible*, or that, if P had had a *detailed* narrative, he would have wholly ignored it.

I put forward, then, the suggestion that P had only a summary so brief as to be practically valueless for the purpose of compilation; and in support of this suggestion I offer some evidence, internal and external.

To take firstly the internal evidence, the theme of P is the manifestation of the divinity of Jesus by mighty works, which exhibit unlimited mastery both over nature and over man. Into such a theme it would be exceedingly difficult to fit a *detailed* picture of Jesus overcome by his enemies, arrested, scourged and crucified. If he were represented as unable to avoid this shameful and agonizing end, this would contradict the whole thesis of the preceding narrative. On the other hand, to suggest that, while he could avoid it, he chose not to, might seem to make him more foolish than heroic. Yet a total omission of the Passion would certainly challenge criticism. The only solution, so far as I can see, would be for the writer to give a *very* brief account, containing a few stock phrases, which would not invite scrutiny, and laying strong emphasis on the fulfilment of the Scriptures; in short, to represent Jesus, not as overcome by his enemies, but as willingly submitting to his predestined end simply because it was predestined, and to suggest that when the hour came that he should suffer the appearance of death, he simply delivered up his Spirit to God, and left his mortal body hanging on the Cross, and bearing the outward *stigmata* of crucifixion.

There is, I submit, an *à priori* probability that the account would take such a form. And now I deal with some external evidence—the *à posteriori* proof—that it did take such a form.

There was in very early times a curious tradition to the effect that the Ephesian Gospel was written, not by St. John, but by his arch-enemy Cerinthus. Now, Cerinthus was the leader of a Gnostic school which taught that there was a distinction between the man Jesus and the Divine Christ. The man Jesus died on the Cross: the Christ never suffered death or agony. If the originators of that tradition meant by the Ephesian Gospel the Story of the Disciple, they were fit only for a madhouse. They ascribed to a leading exponent of Gnosticism a work which bears every internal mark of being written to combat Gnosticism (not to speak of the tradition that St. John wrote with that purpose). But even the absurdest of rumours may have a foundation in fact. And what if the Gospel ascribed to Cerinthus was in fact not RN but P? Apart from any theoretical reconstruction of P's Passion narrative, is not Jesus represented in parts of the Fourth Gospel, which I have assigned to P, as quite untram-

melled by the laws which govern human nature? Surely it is not only as the Risen Lord that he has the power of passing through shut doors (see xx. 19 and 26). He, then, no less than before his Crucifixion, has (when he chooses to assume it) a solid form. Thomas, we are to suppose, can (if he dares) put his hand into tangible wounds; and the fish and bread of xxi. 1-14 are surely not meant to be for the Disciples alone. But even before the Crucifixion he can walk on the waters (vi. 19) and he can pass unseen through a multitude (see viii. 59, where surely ἐκρύβη, "he hid himself," means "he rendered himself invisible"). Thus P has, in fact, a distinct Gnostic or Docetic strain of thought; and though I do not for one moment suggest that it *was* written by Cerinthus, the rumour that he wrote it, or might have written it, cannot be dismissed as palpably absurd.

Supposing that the Ephesian Gospel attributed to Cerinthus was P, its account may not have stated that Jesus did not suffer, but the absence of any suggestion that he did would be a strong hint in that direction. It may have taken some such form as this:

"After these things Jesus willingly gave himself into the hands of the Chief Priests and Pharisees, that the scriptures might be fulfilled which said, 'He was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities.'

"They therefore led him unto Pilate and he was condemned to be crucified. *And it was about the sixth hour* (xix. 14). And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, and there they crucify him with two malefactors, the one on his right hand and the other on his left.

"And a superscription also was written over him, *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews* (xix. 19).

"And the soldiers parted his raiment and cast lots: *that the scripture might be fulfilled which saith 'They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did'* (see xix. 24).

"And one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. For this was done, *that the scripture might be fulfilled, which said, 'They shall look on him whom they have pierced'* (xix. 34, 37).

"Jesus therefore, *knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled* (xix. 28), DELIVERED UP HIS SPIRIT (xix. 30—παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα).

" And after this Joseph of Arimathæa, a disciple of Jesus, *but secretly for fear of the Jews* (xix. 38), besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus, and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore and took the body of Jesus, and laid it in a sepulchre, which *was nigh at hand* (xix. 42 (end)).

" *And on the first day of the week*, very early in the morning, came women unto the tomb, bearing spices which they had prepared. And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb. And they entered in and found not the body of the Lord.

" While therefore they were perplexed thereat, they see *two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain* (xx. 12).

" And as they were affrighted and turned away their heads, the angels say unto them, ' What seek ye ? '

" They answered and said unto them, ' They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre and *we know not where they have laid him.*'

" The angels said unto them, ' Why seek ye the living among the dead ? He is not here but is risen.'

" They therefore returned quickly from the tomb, and told all these things unto the eleven.

" But these things appeared in the sight of the disciples as idle talk ; and *they believed not the words which the women had spoken. For as yet they understood not the scripture that he must rise again from the dead* (xx. 9).

" *When therefore it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and the doors were shut where the disciples were for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst*" (xx. 19), etc.

(I have given the last verse in order to show what I believe to have been the sequence of P's account.)

In the conjectural part of this account I have, as the reader may recognize, drawn considerably on Luke (especially xxiv. 1-11). And as Luke expressly tells us that he has based his Gospel on existing sources, and as, moreover, his version differs considerably from either the Matthæan or the Marcan version, some such account was once in existence.

But while it is not so sketchy as to invite challenge, the narrative (which, I submit, does meet the suggested difficulty of the author) is so brief, compared with the very detailed account of the Disciple, that the compiler would hardly be tempted to incorporate more than those few sentences which

I have italicized, and which in my view belong not to RN but to P.

I will now take them in order :

(1) *The hour of the Crucifixion.*—The weight of the Synoptic evidence, as supported by the tradition of the Church, is that the Crucifixion began at noon (Matthew xxvii. 45, and Luke xxiii. 44), and a later hour would hardly give time for the burial before sunset. In the Fourth Gospel (xix. 14) the sixth hour arrives while the trial is still in progress. If the reader will study my conjectural account he will see that the hour is mentioned in such a way that, while it is meant to relate to the Crucifixion, it might seem to relate to the condemnation. The compiler, wishing not to ignore P, might adopt here what he believed to be P's version.

(2) *The inscription on the cross.*—Mark tells us that the inscription was simply THE KING OF THE JEWS, and considering that it was written in legible characters in three languages, it can hardly have been longer. On such a point an eyewitness would not go wrong ; and I believe that RN confirmed Mark.

(3) *The casting of lots for Jesus's raiment.*—Notes of the fulfilment of prophecies are frequent in P. They are foreign to RN. One may remark that it was the universal practice for the prisoner's escort to take his garments, and there was no need to invoke the scriptures as an explanation of the act. And the Disciple was a realist.

(4) *The piercing of Jesus's side.*—The Synoptic account knows nothing of this, but it is implied in P's account of the first two appearances of the Risen Lord.

(5) *Jesus's death.*—In the first place the words in xix. 28, "Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled," seem an unnecessarily elaborate introduction to the simple words, "I thirst." Secondly, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα, "delivered up the spirit," surely means something much more than ἐξέπνευσεν, "expired" (the word used by Mark, xv. 37, and Luke, xxiii. 46), or even the "let go his spirit (or breath)," ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, of Matthew (xxvii. 50). It implies rather what Luke expands into a definite saying, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." It does not necessarily imply a Gnostic view ; but it could be quoted by Gnostics in support of that view.

(6) *Joseph of Arimathæa.*—Joseph was clearly a courageous man. There is no hint in the Synoptic accounts that he was

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afraid to acknowledge his loyalty to Jesus. But the words, "secretly for fear of the Jews," recall the words in P, "among the Chief Rulers many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him."

(7) *The position of the sepulchre.*—The words, "for the sepulchre was nigh at hand," in xix. 42 are redundant to "in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a sepulchre"; and the Disciple does not elaborate obvious points.

(8) *The vision of the angels to Mary.*—In the story as it now appears in the Fourth Gospel, are not the following points remarkable?

(a) Is it not strange that the angels should be visible to Mary but not to Peter and the Disciple?

(b) Why should the angels appear to Mary, only to ask a question which is superfluous, as Jesus repeats it a minute later?

(c) Why does Mary say nothing to the Disciples about this part of her vision? (See her report in xx. 18.)

(9) *The lack of understanding of the Disciples.*—Surely xx. 9 is very peculiar as it stands: "He saw, and believed. For as yet they understood not the scripture, that he must rise again"; so strange, in fact, that some MSS. actually have "believed not."

Any one of these points may be debatable, but I think I can fairly claim that my ascription of the great bulk of the Passion story to RN is not a valid objection to the theory that the Fourth Gospel is a blend of RN and P.

15. THE SECOND BOOK OF RN: THE DISTORTION OF THE NARRATIVE AND THE MISSING SECTIONS

Before we discuss the Disciple's story of the Passion, I ask the reader to peruse rapidly my reconstructed text,¹ consulting as he goes the verse index at the end of the volume. I have no doubt he will say to himself, "It reads quite plausibly, but surely all this chopping and changing of passages is unnecessary: there is a lot of conjectural matter; and much of the placement of verses seems—at first sight at least—very arbitrary."

Now, if the reader, after carefully studying the Fourth Gospel in the light of a possibility of some disarrangement

¹ pp. 126–151.

of the existing narrative, is still perfectly satisfied with the present order, then let him put this book down and read no more. But if he is not satisfied, then I ask him this question: "Once you admit that there is some evidence of distortion, then is it logical to stop short of a stage where you can reconstruct a clear coherent narrative? You may not agree with the *detail* of my reconstruction, but can you deny the need of some such reconstruction?"

Even Dr. Streeter, who pours great scorn on partition theories, is forced by the evidence to write like this: "There are certain places where the connection is immensely improved if we suppose that there has been an accidental transposition of paragraphs or sections,"¹ and he then gives his blessing to a theory which he expresses as follows: "If the author of the Gospel wrote on waxed tablets, or if he dictated to someone using a number of papyrus slips, such disarrangements could easily occur; and since the extant order does make sense, the disarrangement might not be noticed."²

He goes even further. He says: "The author may have died, leaving a pile of tablets or a number of loose dictated pieces on sheets of papyrus, and a pupil may have arranged them as best he could for publication."³

Now, that is not exactly my theory. My theory is that the manuscript of RN, which the compiler used, was a volume of papyrus leaves, of which some were displaced (having come loose), some were torn, and a few were actually lost. Therefore, when it came to the task of fitting RN into the compilation, he often had to guess at the context (and not infrequently guessed wrong), and, as he was not prepared to supply the missing sections from his own imagination (even if he realized clearly that they *were* missing), he did his best to make a coherent account without them.

I have mentioned Dr. Streeter's view, not because I wish to criticize him, but to show the reader that one of the greatest scholars in the Church (though his general views are very different from my own) has been forced to some such theory to account for the peculiarities of the Gospel narrative. And is my theory intrinsically more improbable than his? His assumes that a pupil, who must have heard the story often in an oral form, in an age when men trained their verbal

¹ "The Four Gospels," p. 380.

² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

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memories to an extent unknown to-day, went seriously astray about the arrangement of his Master's work. Mine assumes that a later editor, dealing with a mutilated manuscript, found it difficult to understand the true order of its pages.

What is more, Dr. Streeter's is a vague and tentative conjecture. But what I have done is to work out by a long series of experiments what was the actual size and the nature of the papyrus leaves. The details can be studied by the reader in Appendix I. To repeat my findings in full here would unduly interrupt the thread of the argument. It is enough to say that *the page seems to have been eleven lines of 14-19 Greek letters, or 180-200 letters in all, corresponding on the average to two verses of the Gospel.*

Accustomed as we are to modern bibles with tiny print, such a page must seem absurdly small, but old Greek MSS. were not infrequently written in large capital letters on a leaf with a wide margin, and the illustration on the opposite page will enable the reader to appreciate that, allowing for the considerable margin common in ancient MSS., it might be of a fair size. If the reader is sufficiently interested, let him copy out a few pages of some unfamiliar book on leaves of such a type, shuffle them up, put the book away, and try to reproduce the original passage. I imagine that he will find some little difficulty. He would probably manage to produce something which, in Dr. Streeter's words, "does make sense, so that the disarrangement might not be noticed," but is not actually correct.

This brings me to a Johannine problem which is notorious and not of my invention: the absence of any account in the Fourth Gospel of the preparations for the Last Supper and of the institution of the Sacrament. Those who hold that the omission was deliberate argue (I think I represent their case fairly) like this: "St. John does deal with the central idea of the Sacrament in chapter vi. of the Gospel, the symbolism of the Bread and Wine, the flesh and blood of the Son of Man, given for our redemption. The actual institution of the Sacrament was so well known that it was unnecessary to retell the story." Is this explanation really plausible? Remember that St. John was writing not a philosophical treatise but a *narrative*. We are asked to believe that "the Loved Disciple who lay in Jesus's bosom at the

(i)	ΑΜΗΝΑΜΗΝΛΕΓΩΥΜΙΝ	16 letters
(ii)	ΟΜΕΝΦΙΛΩΝΤΗΝΨΥΗΝ	16 „
(iii)	ΟΥΤΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΥΕΙΑΥΤΗΝ	18 „
(iv)	ΟΔΕΜΙΣΩΝΤΗΝΨΥΧΗΝ	16 „
(v)	ΕΝΤΩΚΟΣΜΩΤΟΥΤΩ	14 „
(vi)	ΕΙΣΤΗΝΖΩΗΝΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ	17 „
(vii)	ΖΩΟΓΟΝΗΣΕΙΑΥΤΗΝ	15 „
(viii)	ΕΑΝΤΙΣΕΜΟΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΗ	17 „
(ix)	ΕΜΟΙΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙΤΩ	15 „
(x)	ΟΠΟΥΤΕΓΩΕΙΜΙΚΑΚΕΙ	17 „
(xi)	ΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣΕΜΟΣΕΣΤΑΙ	19 „
		180 „

The writing in this illustration, a reconstruction of John xii. 25, 26 (see p. 195), in size and style resembles that of the Codex Sinaiticus.

Supper," whose story would be that in which men could put implicit faith, when he came to the Sacrament, said in effect to his readers, "But of course you know all about this already, so I needn't tell you." Mark, Luke, Matthew, all have slightly different versions; surely anyone would wish to be *certain* what our Lord said and did. But no: the story was so well known as not to be worth retelling!

The leaves which drop out of books, or become torn and mutilated—the books whose binding gives way—are those which the possessor reads and thumbs most constantly. Is it not easier to believe that some pages of "the Story of the Disciple" were disarranged and some were lost than that the Disciple never wrote of scenes of which his account would be supremely valuable?

Now let me offer some evidence that the original narrative has been distorted. And I begin by appealing to the Synoptic tradition. It is notorious that the Fourth Gospel in its present form conflicts with that tradition not only in regard to the Galilæan ministry but in its story of the Passion. I am speaking here not of minor details, such as the point whether the trial and Crucifixion took place on the Passover or on the Preparation Day preceding the Passover, a point on which, though not unimportant, there might be an unconscious discrepancy between the account of an eyewitness and those written at second hand: I am speaking of irreconcilable discrepancies of which St. John, writing after the first three evangelists, could not possibly be unaware, if he was acquainted with their versions, as he surely must have been. The two most glaring discrepancies are these:

(1) The Synoptic tradition connects the declaration of Peter, "Thou art the Christ," with the approach of the Passion, and the last journey to Jerusalem. The Fourth Gospel (vi. 66-71) places it early in the Ministry, before the third of five visits to Jerusalem.

(2) The Synoptic tradition is that Jesus cleansed the Temple on his last entry into Jerusalem, and it is implied that it was an act which brought the hatred of the Priesthood to a head. The Fourth Gospel places it at the first of five visits, and there is no faintest suggestion that the act excited enmity.

Apart from the discrepancy, which is the more probable account?

A less obvious discrepancy lies in the fact that in the Synoptic

tradition Jesus said, on the occasion of the first warning to the Disciples of his impending doom, "There be some of them that stand here who shall not taste of death till I come again" (Mark ix. 1, Matthew xvi. 28, and Luke ix. 27). It is clearly the saying of which the Disciple claims to give the true version in xxi. 23 of the Fourth Gospel, which makes it to be said after the Resurrection.

Then for some internal evidence. As I pointed out at the beginning of this essay, it is surely strange that in chapter xvi., *after the Supper*, when again and again Jesus had spoken of his coming end, the Disciples should apparently be incapable of understanding his warning and that he should (xvi. 5) rebuke them for not asking a question which Peter had already asked (xiii. 36). It is surely strange that he should say, at the end of chapter xiv., "Arise, let us go hence," and that we should be left entirely in the dark as to where and when he delivered the discourses in chapters xv. and xvi. and the great prayer in chapter xvii.

And is it not also strange that the trial before Caiaphas should end abruptly (so far as Jesus's part is concerned) with an assault on him by an officer of the Court (xviii. 22, 23), and that there should be no further examination, but that on the other hand we should find in chapter x. a long reply by Jesus to the charge of blasphemy—the charge on which he was ultimately tried? And again, is it not peculiar that he should say in chapter xii. (some time before the Passion, if we may judge by the tone of xii. 42), "The hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified . . . now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say?—'Father, save me from this hour'?" Are they not words which we should expect him to utter in the Garden, and do they not recall the words which, according to the Synoptic tradition, he did utter in the Garden?

If the reader is still satisfied that the story of St. John was originally written in its present sequence, then to say more is waste of breath. But if he is now disposed to admit that the narrative has been distorted, and that it calls for reconstruction, then I would say this to him: "My reconstruction may be faulty. If you can make a better reconstruction, you have my blessing and congratulation. But please do not condemn mine as arbitrary and overbold until you have essayed the task yourself."

16. THE SECOND BOOK OF RN : THE USE WHICH THE COMPILER MADE OF THE STORY OF THE PASSION : from chapters ii. to xii. of the Fourth Gospel

Let me recall briefly the picture, which I drew in the last section, of the compiler faced with a number of sheets of papyrus, and let me also impress certain points on the reader :

(1) RN dealt not only with the Passion, but with the Ministry. Had C been certain which parts dealt with the Ministry and which with the Passion, his task would have been greatly simplified. There would have been no temptation to connect Passion episodes with the Ministry or vice versa.

(2) His task was not to restore the original text of RN, but to embellish P ; so that it may well have seemed to him comparatively unimportant *where* he inserted extracts, so long as he found a place for them somewhere.

(3) He had been performing the task of incorporating with P a book of discourses RD ; and RN is so full of the spiritual teaching of Jesus that he may well have taken many pages as belonging rather to a collection of sayings than to a narrative, so that the narrative context in which he placed them may have seemed immaterial.

To illustrate the last point, the saying, " Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends " (xv. 13), is clearly uttered by Jesus on the close approach of his own death. The compiler has indeed placed it in a chapter which is a continuation of the Last Supper, but he puts it almost immediately after the discourse " the True Vine," which is certainly not so clearly dated. He places what are now verses 17 and 18 of chapter x. after " the Good Shepherd," which, as many commentators have noticed, and as our lectionary recognizes, really ends with the words, " And there shall be one flock and one shepherd." And now let us place together xv. 13 and x. 17, 18 :

" Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends.

" Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again.

" No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.

“This commandment have I received from my Father.”

Is it arbitrary to think that those verses originally stood together? And is it a mere coincidence that verses 17-18 number 198 letters in the Greek, the length of a page in RN according to other calculations?

I suggest that chapters xv. and xvi. of the Fourth Gospel are simply a block of what the compiler regarded as discourse matter for which he could find no appropriate narrative context, and that, though he recognized the unity of the Prayer in chapter xvii., he did not know what was the correct narrative context. In short, he did not really intend his audience¹ to suppose that all these sayings were uttered between the point where Jesus left the Supper Chamber and his arrest in the Garden, but was doing much what Luke did when he inserted his great block of stories and parables between the point where Jesus “stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem” (ix. 51) for the Last Passover, after warning his Disciples (ix. 22), and the point where he drew nigh to Bethphage and Bethany on that last journey (xix. 29). Surely Luke did not intend us to think that each and every one of those sayings was uttered in that interval?

And now, assuming that he did not know the correct order of the episodes in the second part of the Story of the Disciple, let us try to understand, if we can, what led C to place them where he did. I take them roughly in the order of their appearance in the Gospel:

The Cleansing of the Temple (ii. 14-16).—The context for this was already made, because if I am right, S had already inserted a brief account of the Cleansing at the head of the second scroll of P, which by a mistake explained above (Section 9) T had amalgamated with the first scroll, with the result that he placed the episode in a first visit to Jerusalem.

(Note.—Verse 17 belongs to P's version.)

The declaration of Peter (vi. 66-71).—As the Gospel narrative now stands, the Disciples fall away from Jesus for a most curious reason: that he had said he was the Bread of Life! They murmured at the saying, “Who can hear it?” and then he chided them for unbelief. If disciples were tempted to leave Jesus every time he said something startling, he would never have kept any disciples at all.

¹ I say audience, because very few Christians were in possession of books, even if they could read.

The explanation is, I believe, that the original reading in vi. 60 was not, "Who can hear it?" (τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦειν), but "Who can follow (i.e. grasp) it?" (τίς δύναται αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν). C read the verse as meaning "Who can follow *him*?" (the Greek αὐτῷ can mean either "him" or "it"). And so he thought it a suitable place for their refusal to follow him any longer.

vii. 6-7 and 8 (*end*).—I am sure that many readers of the Fourth Gospel must have wondered what Jesus meant by saying to the brethren, "Your time is alway ready. The world cannot hate you," etc. The explanation, in my opinion, is that P had here "Go ye up to the Feast. My hour [ὥρα] is not yet come" (cf. ii. 4). C found in RD a page (see illustration C of Appendix I), "*Your* hour [or time of trial, καιρός] is not yet come, but *mine* is alway ready [i.e. at hand]." He did not understand this, and took it to be a slip for, "My *hour* is not yet come, but *yours* is alway ready," and he thought it to be a suitable expansion of the verse in P.

The attempt of the Pharisees to arrest Jesus, and Nicodemus's protest (vii. 32, 44-52).—I think that most people, if they were asked offhand, "When did Nicodemus make his protest?" would reply, "At the Council in which the Chief Priests and Pharisees resolved to arrest and kill Jesus," and I have no doubt that this is actually the original context. But as T's version of P had an account of attempts to lay hands on Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles, C thought this an appropriate place to insert this extract.

The Story of the Woman taken in Adultery (vii. 53-viii. 11).—I have already discussed this at length. Probably the Elders thought one place as good as another, if it had to go in at all, subject to the point that it must be a scene where Jesus was teaching in the Temple, and the Temple is most prominent in P's account of Tabernacles.

Jesus's answer to the charge of blasphemy (x. 24, 25, 32-36).—This, with v. 16, 17, 18 (parts), belongs to the trial before Caiaphas.

To consider first the verses from chapter v. : P had a verse, in the section dealing with the Healing of the Impotent Man, "Therefore the Jews sought to kill him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath day." RD had a page (194 letters in the Greek), "Now the Jews were prosecuting [ἐδίωκον] Jesus on this charge, that he not only used to break the

Sabbath, but called God his own Father, thereby making himself equal with God." If C did not know the true context, his choice of a context was almost inevitable.

As to the defence in chapter x., C may have realized that it really belonged to the trial scene. But the tradition, supported by the Synoptists, that in accordance with the scriptures Jesus "As a lamb before his shearers is dumb, opened not his mouth" at the trial¹ had become overwhelming; so he put it in the account of the Feast of Dedication.

In order to make room for it, he shifted to the First Passover the prophecy of the raising of the Temple of Christ's body.

Jesus refuses to avoid his fate (ix. 4, xi. 9).—It is quite clear to me that the sayings, "Are there not twelve hours in the day?" and "We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day. Night cometh when no man can work," were originally one saying; and the style is to my mind unmistakably that of the Disciple.² (Further, it seems to be recalled in xiii. 30, "And it was night.") The real context is uncertain; for though I have supplied one in Section XVI of my text, I frankly admit it to be conjectural. The immediate point here is that the context in which C placed it is not unnatural.

The Supper at Bethany (xii. 2-8).—The placing of this hardly needs explanation. Though Luke tells the story early in his Gospel, both Mark (xiv. 3) and Matthew (xxvi. 6) connect it with Jesus's halt at Bethany before his final entry into Jerusalem.

Jesus's farewell to his Disciples (part) (xii. 23-24, 27).—I have conjectured (see Section XXVI of my text) that these verses belong properly to the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane. (See also above, p. 63.)

I believe that the present placing arises out of a peculiar error. In the story of the visit of the Greeks (xii. 20-22) the Greeks say, "Sir, we would see Jesus." The word translated here "Sir" is *Kyrie*, which, when Jesus is addressed, we translate "Lord." They said, "Κύριε, θέλομεν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν." In the Garden the trembling Disciples, according to

¹ One may remark that in the Johannine story, even as it now stands, Jesus was by no means dumb, but made a very spirited defence.

² When I speak of the Disciple's style in such cases I mean that he, as no other writer did, consistently reproduced his Master's style.

RN's original story, tried to induce Jesus to fly, saying, "Lord, we would preserve thy life" (Κύριε, θέλομέν σε ζωογονεῖν). ζωογονεῖν is the word used by Luke in xvii. 33, "Whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall preserve it." But it is an unfamiliar word, and in rather illegible uncials there is a remarkable similarity between the Greek words for "see Jesus" and "preserve thy life." Thus, ΣΕΖΩΟΓΟΝΕΙΝ, ΙΗΣΟΥΝΙΑΕΙΝ.

C, finding a passage in RN beginning apparently, "Lord, we would see Jesus," and not knowing the true context, not altogether unnaturally placed it after xii. 22.

It will be observed that the saying from Luke is that of which we have a slightly different form in xii. 25, 26, and I have little doubt that the Greek, which now reads, φυλάξει αὐτήν (shall keep it), has suffered a slight stylistic revision, and originally read, like the Lucan version, ζωογονήσει αὐτήν.¹

Now, this accounts also for the placing of xii. 25, 26. The reviser, I suggest (whose work I shall discuss later), noted in the margin that ζωογονήσει was the true reading and cross-quoted these verses, which really belong to the scene in which Jesus discussed with his Disciples his approaching end. (Compare Mark viii. 35, Luke ix. 24, and Section XI of my text at p. 129.)

If the reader thinks this explanation hyperingenious, I would ask him, "Do you really think that these are sayings which Jesus would have addressed to the Greeks? If he did not say them to the Greeks, what did he say to the Greeks? Are you prepared to disregard the evidence of Luke and Mark regarding the occasion of these sayings? And if not, how do *you* account for their present place in the Fourth Gospel?"

The lifting up of the Son of Man (xii. 32-34).—These verses belong, in my view, to a Passion discourse, of which I have given the complete version in Section XVIII of my text (p. 133). I do not propose to weary the reader with an explanation of each placement of its scattered verses. But I believe that he will find it hard to avoid the conclusion that they *do* form a single discourse; and if that is so, how can he account for the breaking up of it except by some such theory of compilation as that which I have put before him?

¹ The Greek of Luke ix. 24 may be compared. It has undergone a similar simplification.

17. THE INCORPORATION OF THE SECOND BOOK OF RN (*cont.*) :
from chapter xiii. to the end of the Fourth Gospel

We have now reached the end of chapter xii. of the Gospel, which is also roughly the end of that part of P which precedes the Passion : I have discussed the question of P's account of the Passion and the few verses which we may possibly assign to it (Section 14) ; and I have already attributed xx. 19-30 and elements of xxi. 1-11 to P.

There remain : (a) xxi. 15-23, and Epilogue ; and (b) chapters xiii-xx. 18.

The command to Peter to feed the sheep.—It has already been suggested that Mark ix. 1, being clearly the saying of which the Disciple claims to give the true version in xxi. 23, shows the true placing of this episode. Jesus has just warned the Disciples that he is soon to meet his death. Many fall away from him in consequence. The Twelve led by Peter have stood firm. But the Master, with his insight into Peter's character, wonders how long his generous enthusiasm is to last. And as the unfaithful stream back along the road to Galilee, he turns sadly to him, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?" Peter saith unto him, "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." He saith unto him, "Feed my lambs."

No word of blame for those whose courage failed them ; only an overwhelming pity. Even the Twelve are soon to be scattered, "Sheep without a shepherd" : and the Shepherd himself is to lay down his life for his sheep. Who will look after them when he is gone ? "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" "Feed my sheep."

The vision which the Fourth Gospel presents of the Risen Lord saying these words to Peter by the Sea of Galilee is beautiful : its very beauty is sufficient explanation of its place. But is it more lovely and more moving than the picture here suggested ?

Chapters xiii.-xx. 18.—I have argued above (p. 65) that chapters xv.-xvii. are "blocks" of discourse matter for which the compiler could not find a narrative context, and that he did not necessarily mean to imply that all the sayings in those chapters were uttered in the interval between Jesus's departure from the Supper Chamber and the entry into the

Garden. Nor need chapter xiv. detain us, for though he has placed the sayings in it before the departure, it is in like fashion a collection of scattered discourse matter. I will only point to the *prima facie* probability that xiv. 15 originally followed xiii. 35.

Now, in chapters xiii., xviii., xix. and xx. 1-10 the Disciple expressly refers to the part that he himself played: we have no longer to consider the blending of sources; and therefore I shall confine myself to some general observations.

(A) As regards *the internal rearrangement of the narrative* the critic may not agree with all of it. For example, he may think it unnecessary to modify the sequence of the trial before Pilate. But I do ask him to bear in mind this point. Save in so far as I attribute the disarrangements that I see in it to a cause which has affected other chapters—namely, the mutilation of the manuscript of RN—the rightness or wrongness of my reconstruction does not affect the general theory that the Fourth Gospel is derived from two distinct sources; and any detailed discussion of the narrative must be reserved for a separate edition of RN.

(B) *Of the reconstruction of the missing sections* much the same may be said. But I wish to offer a brief explanation of my method. Many scholars (especially those in whose view the Gospel is not the narrative of a true eyewitness) hold that the author studied, and used, the synoptic accounts; and even some who hold that St. John wrote it profess to see in it echoes of the Second and Third Gospel. I believe the truth to be the exact opposite, namely, that in those passages in which we find verbal resemblances or similarities of detail between the Story of the Disciple and the Marcan and Lucan versions, they echo it and not it them. We need not reject the strong tradition that the Disciple *wrote* his story in his old age; but are we seriously to suppose that in the sixty years which intervened between the death of the Master and the writing of his life, he never *told* his story? What if the author of the Second Gospel made a *précis* of the story? And what if Luke, having at first relied upon that *précis*, subsequently modified it on receiving fuller information from John himself? If that happened (and I believe it to have happened), we should inevitably get verbal similarities and agreements of detail not only between the story and the Marcan version, but between the

story and those passages in which the Lucan version differs from the Marcan. And those similarities and agreements have been noticed by scores of commentators.

On the other hand, the theory that John's account is derived from Mark and Luke will scarcely explain how it comes to be so much fuller and more detailed (as an eyewitness's account would naturally be, in comparison with that of men who heard the story from him), or why it should be more correct in important details (for example, the day of the Last Supper).

There is an interesting piece of historical evidence. Papias records a saying of John: "Mark . . . wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in their proper order the words and deeds of Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord nor did he follow him." What led John to make that observation? There is so immense a difference between the Fourth Gospel as it now stands and the Marcan narrative that one can hardly conceive the author of that Gospel saying that Mark's narrative was accurately written and was defective only in point of order, and (so it seems to be implied) occasional faults of memory.

But now look at this:

" . . . cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a multitude with swords and staves, from the high priests. . . . Now he that betrayed him had given them a sign . . . and as soon as he was come, he goeth straightway to him. . . . And they [that were with Jesus] all forsook him and fled. . . . But one of them drew his sword and smote the servant of the high priest and cut off his ear. . . . And they laid their hands on Jesus and took him, and they led Jesus away to the high priest. And Peter followed him . . . unto the palace of the high priest and a certain young man followed with him. And as he was below . . . one of the maids of the high priest said to Peter, 'Surely thou art one of them.' But he denied [it]."

This is simply Mark xiv. 43, 44, 45, 50, 47, 46, 53, 54, 66, 67, 70 and 68 in that order. And, so arranged, what are the verses but a *précis* of the Story of the Disciple? And even as it now stands, might not the Marcan account very well be a *précis* by a man who remembered individual phrases pretty accurately, but was a little shaky (having no personal knowledge to guide him) about the exact order?

And is not that the criticism of John, as recorded by Papias?

Then as to Luke, take a few points (out of many) in which his narrative either agrees with the Story of the Disciple as against the Marcan version, or adds to that version details which we find in the story.

(a) *Modifications*.—The prophecy of Peter's denial is placed before the departure from the Supper Chamber; the Garden is not called Gethsemane; the separate watch with Peter, James and John is not mentioned.

(b) *Additions*.—It is mentioned that it was the *right* ear of the high priest's servant that was cut off; that the title on the Cross was written in three languages; that the sepulchre was one "wherein was man never yet laid."

To elaborate this theory would take me far beyond the scope of this essay, but (apart from being an explanation of the actual principle of my reconstruction) it is relevant to the theory of compilation in two ways:

(1) If Mark and Luke were conversant with RN (in an oral form) but not with P, there is some warrant for supposing that RN and P were by different authors.

(2) When we find that Luke adds to the Marcan story a number of details which we find in RN, is it unreasonable to think that some of the details which he adds, though we do not find them in the Fourth Gospel, may have been in RN as originally written? Is this not additional support for the view that the compiler's manuscript of RN was defective?

With these remarks I leave my rearrangements and reconstructions to the judgment of the critic, except for the point which immediately follows.

(C) *The Institution of the Sacrament*.—It will be sufficiently clear from the above and from the arguments on pp. 60–62 why I hold that the Disciple did tell the story of the Institution of the Holy Sacrament. I believe that the pages of RN which described it had fallen out of C's manuscript, either because they had been well thumbed, or possibly because they had been borrowed. Some, however, of our Lord's words (vi. 53, 55, 56)—which, surely, all tradition does associate with the Institution—have been preserved. The verses have 196 letters in the Greek, or one page of RN; and the other pages being lost, and the narrative context

thereby obscured, was there any more natural place for this page than in juxtaposition to "the Bread of Life" ?

(D) *The Resurrection*.—It may come as a shock to some to think that the Story of the Loved Disciple ended with the Vision of Mary. But are not Jesus's words, "Go to the brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and unto my God and your God," a final farewell ?

Apart from this, there is some historical ground for thinking that the story ended at this point.

To quote Dr. Streeter, "The Four Gospels," p. 360 : "Celsus, the great second-century opponent of Christianity, pours much scorn on the belief in the Resurrection, on the ground that it originated in the fancy of a neurotic woman."

Celsus can hardly have been unaware of the traditional appearances of the Risen Lord to the Disciples ; and surely the form of his attack would be unintelligible unless the Christians with whom he was best acquainted regarded as most authoritative an account in which the Risen Lord appeared to one person only and that person a woman ?

(E) *The Epilogue*.—As commonly realized, the Fourth Gospel has two epilogues, xx. 30, 31, xxi. 24, 25. Some have thought them to be duplicates (i.e. both originally stood at the end of the Gospel, alternative endings as it were) ; others that the Gospel originally ended at xx. 31, and chapter xxi. was a subsequent addition. But I have seen no convincing explanation why the author should have written two epilogues, or for that matter why any editor should think it necessary to add an independent second epilogue to an original single epilogue, instead of expanding the latter ; still less why the author should not have included chapter xxi. in his first draft, and only a person with no feeling for style could think that chapter xxi. is by a later writer.

I need hardly say that in my view there are two epilogues, because the Gospel is a blend of narratives by different authors, each of whom wrote an epilogue.¹

It may be noted that I have assigned xx. 30, xxi. 25 to P, and xxi. 24, xx. 31 to RN. If this seems perverse, I can only say that the latter seem to me to be as clearly in the Disciple's style as the former are in that of the author of P.

¹ It is impossible now to say if RD had an epilogue. But chapter i. 1-10 of the First Epistle of St. John would make an excellent epilogue. (Does not the epistle, in the sense of a letter, seem to start with chapter ii. ?)

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

I take it that the compiler originally placed both at the end of the compilation, and the reviser (whose labours I shall discuss in Appendix II), seeing that it looked odd to have two epilogues, moved xx. 30, 31 to their present place, intending them to serve not as an epilogue but as a comment on xx. 29, the thought being :

“Blessed are they that have not seen [the miracles], and yet have believed [that Jesus was the Son of God].”

(For even these are only a small selection of the miracles. Many others were performed. But these should be sufficient to convince you even though you did not see them.)

As regards the wording of the epilogue of RN, I call attention to John xix. 35, “His witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true,” and John xx. 24, “We know that his witness is true.” (N.B.—The English words *record*, *testimony*, and *witness* are only various renderings of the one Greek word μαρτυρία.) I have no doubt that the original epilogue read “he knoweth.” The Disciple wrote with a passionate conviction of the necessity of correcting false impressions about Jesus’ character and mission: and he was therefore concerned to place his own claim to authority beyond all doubt. But it was natural for the Ephesian editors to add their own testimony, “We know that his witness is true.”

18. SUMMARY OF THE METHOD OF COMPILATION

I have now reached the end of my long—but I hope not tedious—exposition of the process of the compilation; and it may be of assistance to the reader if I here present a summary of the stages, at rather greater length than in Section 3, but brief enough to give a bird’s-eye view.

(1) The Elders of Ephesus, having decided to illustrate the Gospel of St. Philip (P), having for its theme the *Works* of Jesus, with *Words* from a book of Discourses (RD) by “the Disciple whom Jesus loved,” in which he had recorded our Lord’s teaching of “the Father and the Son,” commissioned a scholar (S) to carry out the task. This S performed by taking two papyrus scrolls, on which P was written, and inserting in the margin of them verses from RD, at places which he thought formed a suitable narrative context. In making his choice of verses for insertion, S took very considerable liberties with his original, not only splitting up dis-

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courses and making fresh groupings of their verses, but actually adding some spurious matter of his own in accordance with themes of his own devising, so that I have termed them "Pseudo-Johannine Discourses" (PD). As the size of his margin was limited, he omitted to include a large part of RD. But he preserved P intact, except that at the beginning of the first scroll, where he inserted part of the Prologue of RD in the top margin, he obliterated the original opening. In addition to this discourse matter he added, at the top of the second scroll, a short account of the Cleansing of the Temple in the narrative section dealing with Jesus's entry into Jerusalem for the Last Passover.

(2) These marginally embellished scrolls were then made over to a copyist-editor (T) for making a fair copy, in which the added matter would appear in the body of the text. But T made an extraordinary error in that, instead of treating the second scroll as a continuation of the first, he took it to be additional matter (discourses chiefly) which he was to incorporate in the first scroll.

This matter all concerned, as he saw, a visit of Jesus to Jerusalem for a Feast (the Last Passover, actually); and it seemed to him that, including the marginal insertions in the first scroll, he had far more discourse material to incorporate in the first scroll than the scope of the narrative would conveniently admit. He therefore converted the three Feasts of the original story into five, a course which necessitated a drastic revision of the sequence of the original narrative, and incidentally led to the placing of the Cleansing of the Temple in the first Feast instead of the last.

(3) This revised edition of P did not meet with the approval of the Elders, not apparently because T had recast the narrative, but because S had omitted much, and altered much, of RD; and it was decided to incorporate the whole of RD.

The new compiler (C), to whom this task was entrusted, was faced with the practical question whether to scrap all the work done by S and T and start afresh; or to utilize it, merely inserting, where he conveniently could, those verses of RD which S had omitted, and occasionally supplying the true versions of such verses as S had radically altered (the latter course sometimes resulting in the appearance in the Gospel of two versions—a true and a spurious—of a saying or discourse). His method of work seems to have been to

take a manuscript of the discourses of T's edition, with broad margins, and to place in those margins, right and left, the verses to be inserted: a method which, when the copyist came to combine the three vertical columns in one, often caused the resultant discourses to have the coherence of neither the original Johannine, nor of the Pseudo-Johannine discourses.

(4) While this task was in progress the Elders came to a further decision: to incorporate with P a second book, by the same author as RD, "the Story of the Disciple" (RN), or at any rate such parts of it as seemed suitable for inclusion in the Gospel of Works; notably the Story of the Passion, of which P, in accordance with its theme, had only a very summary sketch.

RN unfortunately was very defective. Its leaves (for it was a book, or bundle, of pages and not a scroll) were in many cases displaced or mutilated, while some (including a few of the most important, dealing with the Institution of the Sacrament) were actually missing. C often had to guess at the true context; and he was more concerned to find a convenient point in the narrative of P for the insertion of extracts than to restore the original sequence of the story. The result was, naturally, at hopeless variance with the Synoptic tradition (for example he placed the declaration of Peter at Capernaum in the middle of the Ministry).

Except that in the narrative of the Passion and Resurrection, as compiled, there was some "conflation" of the two narrative sources, all the elements of P have been preserved.

The result of this compiler's labour is, in essentials,¹ the Fourth Gospel as we now have it: and in a sense this Ephesian compiler may be said to be the author of it. Though there were many defects in it, it was sufficiently skilful to escape serious criticism of a detailed nature² until comparatively recent times. And, since he and his predecessors faithfully

¹ I say "in essentials," because there was some later process of revision and some occurrence of copying errors, with which I deal in Appendix II. These, however, affect only minor details, and not the main outline of the work.

² The Gospel did not by any means escape serious criticism of a more general kind even in very early times. Not only was doubt cast upon its attribution to St. John, but there was considerable hesitation in admitting it to the Canon of the New Testament; a hesitation which, having regard to the immense prestige of its reputed author, would be barely intelligible, had there not been some suspicion of the real method of composition.

kept in view the object of making the *Words* and *Works* of Jesus mutually illustrate each other, the compilation presents a marked and convincing unity of purpose.

19. SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SOURCES

If I have offered to the reader in the latter part of this volume complete texts of the sources, it is because, though the labour of reconstruction has been immense and invites criticism in point of detail, I have felt that by no other course could I bring home to him the very great differences between the two main sources, P and R, in art, in theme, and above all in spiritual atmosphere. For extracts might be under suspicion of being arbitrarily chosen for the illustration of an artificial point; and it would not have been fair to the student to provide him with a bare verse index. But I do not suggest that my reconstructions have that finality at which I should aim, were I attempting to produce a standard text of each.

In the special prefaces to P, RN, RD and "the Pseudo-Johannine Discourses," further comments will be found on their characteristics, but I offer here a few remarks about their authorship and date.

The Gospel of St. Philip, whoever may have been its author (and I do not suggest that the Apostle was), is unmistakably of Galilaean origin, and written for the residents of Palestine. It again and again assumes in its readers a close acquaintance with Palestine (for example, where the position of Ænon is described as being "near to Salim," iii. 23).

Again, it would seem to be of a very early date, for the author writes of the sheep gate at Jerusalem (v. 2) as if its position were well known and it were still in existence, as it can hardly have been after the razing of the city by Titus in A.D. 70.

None the less, I am sure, for reasons which I have stated fully in the special preface, the author drew material from an even earlier book of miracles, which, incidentally, was used by the author of the Second Gospel also (as witness the marked similarity of his account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand in vi. 31-44).

We may imagine that this book was taken to Ephesus on the dispersion of the Jews after the campaign of Titus.¹

¹ The few indications of a late date, such as calling the Sea of Galilee the Sea of Tiberias, are readily accounted for by editorial notes and interpolations.

The Record of the Loved Disciple was—to my mind beyond all question—by “John, the Disciple of the Lord, whom Jesus loved, who lay in his bosom at the Supper,” of whom Papias and other early fathers speak as living at Ephesus towards the end of the first century. Whether this John was the Apostle, the Son of Zebedee, or, as some think, a younger disciple who, by reason of his youth or any other cause, was not admitted to the Twelve, it would be outside the province of this essay to discuss. It is enough for my purpose to suggest that no book ever written bears a stronger impress of being the work of a man who was telling what his eyes had seen and what his ears had heard. If to have a clear and unfailing vision of the eternal verities, which underlie the veil of nature, is to be a mystic, John was indeed a mystic; but if a mystic is one whose imagination leads him to forget and colour what we call events, then, so far from being a mystic, John was one of the greatest realists that ever lived.

That verdict is not to be shaken by the fact that in the telling of his tale he exhibits an art, so sure, so subtle, so supreme, that it defies analysis.

As for the discourses, the speeches and the prayers¹ of Jesus, which are often supposed to be the Disciple's imaginative composition, on the ground that no man could remember, after a lapse of sixty years, the detail of the Master's utterance, would such a feat have been beyond the power of a Macaulay? And St. John was a far greater than Macaulay.

The strong tradition is that his story—his Gospel, to use the ancient term—was committed to writing about A.D. 90; and there is no need to doubt it. But it must have been daily—one might say hourly—in his mind ever since the Master's death; and he must have *told* it, if not in full sequence, at least in all its component parts, a thousand times. He wrote as a man whose memory is confirmed and strengthened with the passage of the years; not as one who in old age tries, with effort and with frequent failure, to summon the dim ghosts of his long-forgotten youth.

How comes it that this record, this miracle of art, was not preserved intact by his successors? I would reply, because it was too great for men's small minds. The Jesus of his story is divine, not because he exhibits mastery over the forces of nature or the hostility of man, but because he rises to supreme

¹ Chapter xvii. of the Fourth Gospel.

heights of spiritual grandeur without for one moment losing touch with suffering humanity. The Disciple says in effect, "Men argue about the divinity of Jesus, appealing to philosophical arguments which are debatable, and to miracles which are denied. But if you had ever seen Him as I saw Him, and heard Him as I heard Him—if I can only make you see Him with my eyes, and hear Him with my ears—then, surely, you can have no room for doubt. He was Himself the proof of his divinity: He was Himself the miracle of miracles."

But "... except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe." And so for the convert, for the proselyte, the *Word* is not enough: the *Works* are needed. And can we say that when the Elders of Ephesus resolved to issue for the instruction of the people a book which should combine the Evangel of St. Philip and the Record of St. John, giving to it the title of the greater writer, they made an unwise or unwarrantable decision?

This essay has been an intensive study of the *internal* evidence; and I must leave it to expert theologians to consider the probable date of the compilation, if they accept my thesis. Professional scholars have differed so widely about the *external* evidence regarding the first appearance of the Fourth Gospel, that nothing, I feel, would justify me in offering an opinion, without an extensive first-hand examination of the traditional material. It is enough to say that in my view the internal evidence shows that both the sources must have been in existence by the end of the first century, and that the damage suffered by the manuscript of RN suggests the lapse of at least a score of years between the death of the author and its use by the compiler. The actual work of compilation and publication need not have occupied more than a score of months.

20. CONCLUSION

At the outset of this essay I wrote, "Research and criticism may be constructive of faith, rather than destructive"; and may I claim that my conclusions are constructive?

For if they are right, they establish a discovery that may allay many doubts. This is, that (save in minor details where we should expect the evidence of an eyewitness to be more

accurate than that of authors who rely upon tradition) *the testimony of John, the loved Disciple of the Lord, does not contradict the narrative of the first three Gospels.*

Thus it not only fortifies our belief in John himself, but removes any doubt that Mark, Luke and Matthew may be unreliable because they seem to contradict the evidence of John. The contradictions that we find in the Fourth Gospel partly lie in that work which I have entitled "the Gospel of St. Philip," a book almost avowedly written in a spirit of drama rather than of history; but they arise to a greater extent from the peculiar manner in which that Gospel came to be interwoven with the real Gospel of St. John.

It may seem, both to friend and critic, that in order to establish my thesis, I have added much to, and excised much from, the accepted text of the Gospel. But may I say this? It would be perfectly consistent with the ordinary view of single authorship to hold that a few pages have been lost by damage to the archetype manuscript, that a few lines have been lost through the errors of copyists, and that some editorial notes have been incorporated in the text. It would not have weakened—from some points of view it might have strengthened—the presentation of my case, had I not attempted to restore the missing pages of RN, had I let the suspected glosses stand, had I suggested no emendation not strictly necessary to the argument of compilation. If I have not adopted that easier course, it is because the question, "How did the Fourth Gospel take its present shape?" is but the prelude to that far greater question, "What is the truth about the life and teaching of Jesus?"; and, therefore, when the evidence of the text suggests to me that so the Master spoke and so he acted—or that so the Disciple, his best witness, wrote of him—I have felt bound to set it forth, even at the cost of inviting criticism which I might have otherwise avoided.

I would ask the reader, when he comes to any passage in which I have omitted any words which are in the text of the Fourth Gospel, or added any which are not in that text, to put to himself this question, "Is this excision or addition necessary to a proof of the theory of compilation, or is it such (right or wrong) as might have been suggested by a scholar who holds the traditional view of the authorship?" If he does this, I believe he will agree with me that there are very few

restorations or emendations, the rejection of which would be fatal to my thesis.

And then if he does so agree, I would put this further question, "If the Gospel was in fact written by one man, is it not strange that from a work which, as almost universally admitted, bristles with difficulties and problems, we should be able to extract three coherent works by a process that amounts to little more than a rearrangement of its sentences?"

To illustrate my thesis by a simile, it is as though a man had been commissioned to construct a single picture out of three mosaics, on kindred subjects, preserving, so far as possible, the individual pieces; say, for example, the visits of the Shepherds, the Magi and the Kings to the Stable at Bethlehem. Some of the background, and the central figures, might be common to all three, and he would therefore discard some pieces as superfluous; he might be compelled to cut the corners off a few pieces in order to make them fit neatly; and in a few places he might have to fashion some new pieces to fill gaps. But very considerable portions of each source-picture (if I may use that term) he might be able to insert *en bloc*. If he did his work skilfully, it might be long before anyone, who did not know the origin and method of its composition, suspected the completed picture to be anything but an original by a single artist. Suppose, then, later critics began to notice differences of handling in parts of the picture, and notably differences in the sizes of the human figures, which could not be accounted for by the ordinary laws of perspective, the first arguments might be, not whether the picture was a single composition or an amalgam, but whether the artist was competent or incompetent, or whether the picture were really the work of its reputed author (who might be the artist of two only of the three originals). But finally, suppose some critic, seeing that parts of the picture were perfectly done, and parts very imperfectly, hit upon the true solution that the picture was an amalgam of earlier mosaics, would it *then* be impossible, with minute scrutiny and great patience, to discover how many those mosaics were, what parts belonged to each, what new pieces had been fashioned, what old pieces modified, and what approximately was the extent and nature of each original? There might be room for reasonable dispute as to individual pieces; but the general conclusion might be

beyond reasonable challenge. And the fact that *certainly* in point of detail could not be reached would be no sound argument against the view as a whole ; still less would the difficulty of the task, or any sentiment that the theory contradicted old tradition or long-accepted authority, be a valid reason for rejecting it.

And finally, if to some this view of the Fourth Gospel as a mosaic, and this minute scrutiny of its composition, seem to savour of irreverence, I would make this plea. To our fathers the patient investigation of scholars into the sources and the authorship of the books of the Old Testament appeared distasteful and heretical. But few to-day will seriously dispute that they have immensely enriched not only our knowledge but our appreciation of those writings. Some old and simple beliefs, not without value in their day, have been shattered, and we may regret that result ; but new faiths and new inspirations have been fostered in their stead. Does a recognition of the fact that the Book of the Prophet Isaiah had more than one author destroy for us the value of its most glorious chapters, or does it not rather yield us a new insight into the workings of the Spirit ?

Is it, then, too much to hope that, when those who have held dear the traditional view that St. John wrote all the chapters of the Fourth Gospel can reconcile themselves to a new belief, the Record of the Loved Disciple may shine for them with added glory as a true and living picture of our Lord on earth ?

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION AND THE PRINTING OF THE TEXTS

In the texts that follow, ordinary brackets () indicate matter which, being a part of the original writings, we by modern convention place within brackets; square brackets [] indicate notes and glosses of ancient commentators that have been incorporated in the manuscripts; and angle brackets < > conjectural restorations of passages which I believe to have been in the original, but subsequently omitted through one cause or another.

In the translation I have for the most part followed the Revised Version, except where the latter has, in my opinion, failed to bring out the full point of the Greek. If it seems presumptuous of me thus to criticize the work of a band of eminent scholars, I may point out, firstly, that correct interpretation is often a matter of context in the Greek language, in which many words are capable of different meanings according to their setting, so that, if the true context is lost, the true meaning may be missed. (For example, *krisis* can mean either "judgment" or "condemnation," and which rendering is right depends on the sense of the whole passage in which it occurs.) Secondly, while the Elizabethan English of the Authorized Version is frequently misleading to modern ears, the Revised Version is not always altogether happy in modernizing it. (For example, though in xvi. 8 a modern reader may misunderstand the rendering of A.V., "He will reprove the world of sin," that of R.V., "He will convict the world in respect of sin" is neither good modern English nor the true meaning of the Greek.)

THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

PREFACE TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

§ 1

THE Gospel is clearly of Palestinian origin; for the writer displays an intimate knowledge of the customs and geography of Palestine. It is written with a strong Galilæan bias, consistently representing "the Jews" (by which the author seems generally to mean "the people of Jerusalem") as hostile unbelievers. And, if we may judge by the fact that it places Jesus's home at Cana, and makes the otherwise unknown Nathanael of that town one of the foremost disciples, it may have originated there.

It is not only composed by a Palestinian, but addressed to a Palestinian audience. To take what is perhaps the clearest evidence, the position of Ænon is explained by a reference to Salim (iii. 23)—a case of "*obscurum per obscurius*" to a foreigner. And if the Revised Version is correct in holding with many eminent scholars that v. 4 is a gloss, the writer assumed that his readers would know the local tradition of Bethesda.

It equally seems to be an early work, for in v. 2 he writes as if everyone must be familiar with the sheep-gate at Jerusalem, and the gate was presumably destroyed when Titus razed the city in A.D. 70.

§ 2

There are features which suggest that it drew material from a still older "Book of the Miracles of Jesus," in which Jesus, although he had disciples, at first confined his exhibitions of miraculous powers to the privacy of his own home. His brother Judas asks him, "Why art thou minded to manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?" (a question which is singularly inapt when put *at the end* of the Ministry, as in our present Gospel, xiv. 22) and his brethren similarly exhort him to "depart hence that thy disciples also may behold the works that thou doest" (see vii. 3, 4. In our present story he had already shown many "works" to his disciples).

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To this he replies, "My hour is not yet come" (vii. 6). But soon afterwards a marriage takes place at Cana, at which his mother suggests that he should miraculously make good the shortage of wine. He at first demurs with the words (which in their present setting seem so rude and pointless), "Woman, what have I to do with thee? My hour is not yet come" (ii. 4), but finally consents, whereupon his mother gives her confident direction to the servants: "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it" (ii. 5). He performs the miracle of converting water into wine; whereupon "his disciples" (who had hitherto seen no miracle) "believed on him" (ii.11).

It may be observed that in vii. 3 there is MS. authority for reading not "go into Judæa" but "go into Galilee"; i.e. in the older story Jesus went forth, after the exhortation of his brethren, into the public life of Galilee, not to Judæa.

The question of Judas seems to have been at first omitted in compilation as redundant to vii. 3; subsequently, with the curious dislike that ancient compilers had of wholly omitting any portion of Holy Writ for which a place could be found, it was inserted in what is now chapter xiv., after the verse, "I will love him and will manifest myself unto him," though the sole connection of thought lies in the one word "manifest."

§ 3

A noteworthy point is that P always speaks of *God* and *Son of God*: R of *The Father* and *The Son*, except where Jesus is referring to the knowledge which men obtain of God otherwise than through the Son. Cf. xiv. 1, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." It is his mission to reveal to men the Fatherhood of God.

§ 4

I leave it to the judgment of the reader to decide its value as history, only remarking (i) that the intimate knowledge which the writer displays of the country in which Jesus lived and taught is not (as some commentators seem to argue) in itself a proof that his narrative of events is to be trusted, and (ii) that the total ignoring of the famous triumvirate of Peter, James and John must have given offence to many even in the earliest times, especially to the Church of Rome.

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THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. PHILIP

A. THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

¹ <John did baptize in the wilderness and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and there went out to him all the land of Judæa and they of Jerusalem, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.>

<And> the Jews ² sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who art thou?"

And he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, "I am not the Christ."

And they asked him,³ "What then? Art thou Elias?"

And he saith, "I am not."

"Art thou the Prophet?" And he answered, "No."

They said unto him, "Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? What sayest thou of thyself?"

He said, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as said the prophet Esaias."

And they that were sent were of the Pharisees.

And they asked him and said unto him, "Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither The Prophet?"

John answered them, saying, "I baptize with water, but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not. He it is who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe latchet I am not worthy to unloose."

⁴ <And it came to pass that when Jesus also was baptized, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily shape upon him, and there came a voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.">

¹ Cf. Mark i. 4-5, and Introduction, p. 26.

² "The Jews" means here, and throughout the Gospel, the Jews of Jerusalem.

³ For comments on the style of this passage, see Introduction, p. 45.

⁴ The compilation does not contain any account of the actual baptism. C, in substituting matter from RN for some such verse as this (which I have taken from Luke iii. 21, 22), failed to notice the omission. To judge by John xii. 28-30, P would have had a story of the audible voice of God.

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And John beareth witness of him and said, "This was he of whom I said, 'after me cometh a man who is preferred before me': for he was before me. And I have seen and have borne witness that this is the Son of God."

These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

B. THE CALLING OF PHILIP AND NATHANAEAL

The day following Jesus findeth Philip, and saith unto him, "Follow me." Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter.¹

Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, "We have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write—Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph."

And Nathanael said unto him, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"

Philip saith unto him, "Come and see."

Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith, "Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile."

Nathanael saith unto him, "Whence knowest thou me?"

Jesus answered and said unto him, "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee."

Nathanael answered him, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God. Thou art the King of Israel."

Jesus answered and said unto him, "Because I said unto thee, 'I saw thee under the fig tree,' believest thou? Thou shalt see greater things than these."²

C. JESUS BAPTIZETH: THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN

After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judæa, and there he tarried with them and baptized.

And John also was baptizing in Aenon, near to Salim, because there was much water there; and the people came and were baptized. (For John was not yet cast into prison.)

Then arose a questioning on the side of the disciples of

¹ It is not clear why the author, against the weight of the Synoptic tradition that their home was Capernaum, should say that Andrew and Peter lived at Bethsaida. Did the original have "Andrew and Thomas"? The author gives the birth-places of Philip and Nathanael (see xxi. 2).

² It is clear that Jesus' knowledge of Nathanael is represented as miraculous. But the story does not clearly explain wherein the miracle lay: was it one of supernatural vision, or knowledge of the character of a man who had been seen hitherto only at a distance?

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John about [the Jewish custom of]¹ purification, and they came unto John and said unto him, " Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him."

John answered and said, " Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said ' I am not the Christ ' but that ' I am sent before him.' He that hath the bride is the bridegroom, but the friend of the bridegroom rejoiceth <in the joy> of the bridegroom. <In his joy> therefore is my joy fulfilled.² He must increase but I must decrease."

D. THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA

When therefore the Lord knew how <it was said³> that " Jesus maketh disciples, and baptizeth, more than John " he left Judaea and departed for Galilee.

And he must needs go through Samaria.

Then cometh he to a city of Samaria which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

Now Jacob's well was there. There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water.

Jesus saith unto her, " Give me to drink."

Then saith the woman of Samaria unto him, " How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria ? " [For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans.]

Jesus saith unto her,⁴ " Go, call thy husband and come hither."

The woman answered and said, " I have no husband."

Jesus saith unto her, " Thou hast well said ' I have no husband,' for thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thine husband. In this thou hast spoken truly."

The woman saith unto him, " Lord, I perceive that thou art a prophet."

Jesus saith unto her, " Woman, <know ye> that Messiah cometh, who is called Christ ? "

The woman saith unto him, " We know : <and I know> that when he is come, he will tell us all things."

¹ See Appendix IV.

² See Appendix II.

³ In the text of the Fourth Gospel there has here been some introduction of verses from Section XIV of RN.

⁴ See Pseudo-Johannine Discourse DD for the verses inserted here by S : and " the water of life " in the Genuine Discourses.

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Jesus saith unto her, "Believe me, I that am talking with thee am He."¹

(And his disciples were marvelling that he talked with the woman. Yet no man said, "What seekest thou?" or "Why talkest thou?")

The woman then left her water-pots and went her way into the city, and said, unto the men, "Come and see a man who told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Christ?"

They went out of the city, and set forth to meet him.

So when the Samaritans came to him they besought him to tarry with them; and he tarried there two days.

And many of the Samaritans believed on him because of the word of the woman who said, "He told me all things that ever I did." And many more believed because of his own word, and said unto the woman, "It is no longer because of thy testimony that we believe: For we ourselves have heard his discourse."²

E. THE MARRIAGE AT CANA

And after those two days he departed thence and went into Galilee.

And on the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there, and both Jesus was invited and his disciples to the marriage.

And, the wine having fallen short, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, "They have no wine."

Jesus saith unto her, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come."

His mother saith unto the servants, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it."

Now there were set six water-pots of stone [after the Jews' custom of purifying]³ which contained two to three firkins⁴ apiece.

¹ For the portions of verses 20-24 and 42, drawn from other sources, see Prologue (end) to the Doctrine of the Father and the Son, the Worship of the Father, and Section XIV of the Story of the Disciple. As regards the slight remodelling of what belongs to P, compare the rather similar interview with the Blind Man (John ix. 35-37). The MSS. variants suggest that her speech began, "We know."

² The MSS. variants indicate that the probable true reading is "οὐκέτι διὰ τὴν σὴν μαρτυρίαν πιστεύομεν. τὴν λαλίαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ αὐτοὶ ἀκηκόαμεν."

³ See Appendix IV.

⁴ A *firkin* is eight to nine gallons, so that the six water-pots would hold some 800-1,200 pints.

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Jesus saith unto them, "Fill the water-pots with water." And they filled them up to the brim.

And he saith unto them, "Draw out now, and bear unto the Governor of the Feast." And they bare it.

When the Governor of the Feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was,¹ <he> called the bridegroom and saith unto him, "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse. But thou hast kept the good wine until now."

This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him.²

F. THE HEALING OF THE NOBLEMAN'S SON

And there was a certain nobleman whose son was sick at Capernaum. When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judæa into Galilee, he went unto him and besought him that he would come down and heal his son: for he was at the point of death.

The nobleman saith unto him, "Lord, come down, ere my child die."

Jesus saith unto him, "Go thy way. Thy son liveth."

The man believed the word that Jesus had spoken unto him and he went his way.

And as he was now going down, his servants met him, saying, "Thy son liveth."

He inquired therefore of them the hour at which he had begun to amend. They said then unto him, "Yesterday,³ at the seventh hour, the fever left him."

So the father knew that it was at the same hour at which Jesus had said unto him, "Thy son liveth"; and himself believed and his whole household.

This is again the second miracle that Jesus did when he was come out of Judæa into Galilee.

¹ Here follows an interpolated note, "but the servants who drew the water knew," and the connecting words "the Governor of the Feast" repeated.

² "His disciples believed on him." See § 2 of the special preface.

³ The Jewish *day* began at sunset. But the Gospel uses the Roman *hours*. The seventh hour would be approximately our 1 p.m. Capernaum was twenty miles from Cana, and the journey might therefore take seven to eight hours; so that the father would arrive at Capernaum on the morrow by Jewish notation.

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G. HIS BRETHREN URGE JESUS TO GO UP TO JERUSALEM FOR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES

Now the Feast of the Tabernacles [a feast of the Jews] was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto him, "Depart hence, and go into Judæa, that thy disciples also may see the works that thou doest. For there is no man that doeth anything in secret and seeketh himself to be known openly. If thou do these things, show thyself unto the world" [For neither did his brethren believe on him].

Saith Judas unto him [not Iscariot], "Lord, why is it that thou art willing to manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?"

Jesus saith unto them, "〈My hour is not yet come〉. Go ye up to the Feast. I go not up yet unto this Feast."

When he had said these words unto them, he remained still in Galilee; but when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the Feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.

H. THE HEALING OF THE IMPOTENT MAN

Now there is in Jerusalem, by the Sheep Market, a pool—that which is called [in the Hebrew] Bethesda—having five porches.

In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk—blind, halt, withered—waiting for the moving of the water.

(For an angel went down at a certain time into the pool and troubled the water. Whosoever then first stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.)

And a certain man was there, who had had an infirmity thirty and eight years.

When Jesus saw him lie, and knew that he had now been a long time in that condition, he saith unto him. "Dost thou wish to be made whole?"

The impotent man answered him, "Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me in the pool; so, when I am coming, another steppeth down before me."

Jesus saith unto him, "Rise, take up thy bed and walk." And immediately the man was made whole, and took up his bed and walked.

Now on the same day was the Sabbath. The Jews therefore

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said unto him that was cured, "It is the Sabbath day. It is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed."

He answered, "He that made me whole, the same said unto me, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'"

They asked him, "What man is that, who said unto thee, 'Take up thy bed and walk'?"

But he that was healed wist not who it was. For Jesus had slipped away, a multitude being in that place.

Afterward Jesus findeth him in the Temple, and said unto him, "Behold thou art made whole. Sin no more lest a worse thing befall thee."

The man departed and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had made him whole.

And on this account the Jews sought to kill him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath day.

J. JESUS TEACHETH IN THE TEMPLE AND RETURNETH TO GALILEE

Now about the midst of the Feast Jesus went up unto the Temple and taught, <saying>,

"Did not Moses give you the Law, and yet none of you keepeth the Law? Why go ye about to kill me?"

The multitude answered, "Thou hast a devil. Who goeth about to kill thee?"

Jesus answered and said unto them, "I have done one work <on the Sabbath day, and ye all seek to kill me>¹ because of it. Moses gave unto you circumcision [not that it is of Moses but of the fathers] and ye on the Sabbath day circumsise a man. If a man on the Sabbath day receive circumcision without breaking the Law of Moses, are ye angry with me because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day? Judge not according to appearance but judge just judgment."

Then said some of them of Jerusalem, "Is not this he whom they seek to kill? But lo, he speaketh boldly and they say nothing to him. Can it be that the Rulers truly think that this is the Christ? Howbeit we know this man whence he is; but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is."

¹ This sentence was combed out as a duplicate of, "I have done one work and ye all marvel." See Pseudo-Johannine Discourse LL.

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They sought to take him, but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come.

And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.

When therefore he was come into Galilee, the Galilæans¹ received him, having seen all things that he did at Jerusalem at the Feast: for they also went to the Feast. [But before that they received him not.] For Jesus himself testified that "A prophet hath no honour in his own country."

K. THE FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE

After these things Jesus went over the Sea of Galilee [which is the Sea of Tiberias]; and a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles, which he did on them that were diseased.

And Jesus went up into a mountain, and there he sat with his disciples.

When Jesus then lifted up his eyes, and saw a great multitude come unto him, he saith unto Philip, "Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?" (But this he said to test him, for he himself knew what he would do.)

Philip answered him, "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not enough for them that everyone may take a little."

One of the disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto him, "There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two broiled fishes²; but what are they among so many?"

Jesus said, "Make the men sit down." Now there was much grass in that place. So the men sat down, to the number of about five thousand.

Then Jesus took the loaves, and when he had given thanks he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down, and likewise of the fishes, as much as they would.

And when they were filled, he saith unto his disciples "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost."

So they gathered them together, and filled twelve baskets with fragments [of the five barley loaves] which remained over and above to them that had eaten.

¹ Or "his own folk also," *καὶ οἱ ἰδίοι.*

² The word *ὁψάρια* indicates that they were cooked.

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Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, "This is of a truth The Prophet who cometh into the world."

L. THE WALKING ON THE WATER

Jesus then departed again into the mountain himself alone, and there prayed.

And when even was now come, his disciples went down unto the Sea, and entered into a ship, and went over the Sea towards Capernaum. And it was now dark, and Jesus was not come to them.

And the Sea rose by reason of a great wind that blew.

So when they had rowed about five-and-twenty or thirty furlongs,¹ they see Jesus walking on the Sea, and drawing nigh unto the ship; and they were afraid.

But he said unto them, "It is I. Be not afraid."

Then they willingly received him into their ship; and immediately the ship was at the land whither they were going.

M. THE MULTITUDE ASK FOR A SIGN

On the morrow the multitude which stood on the other side of the Sea saw that there was no other boat there, save that one whereinunto his disciples were entered, and that Jesus had not gone with his disciples into that boat, but the disciples had gone away alone² . . . and that Jesus was not there neither his disciples; <and> they also took shipping and came to Capernaum, seeking for Jesus.

And when they had found him on the other side of the Sea, they said unto him, "Rabbi, when camest thou hither?"

Jesus answered them and said, "Ye seek me, not because ye saw miracles, but because ye ate of the loaves and were filled."

They said therefore unto him, "Do thou then a further miracle,³ that we may see and believe on thee."

Jesus said unto them, "Except ye see miracles and portents,

¹ The Sea of Galilee is six to eight miles across, or fifty to sixty furlongs. Thus the boat was as far, according to the account, as it could possibly be from any shore.

² Here follows in the MSS. an interpolated note ("Howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread after that the Lord had given thanks") and the connecting words, "When the multitude therefore saw." See Appendix IV.

³ Reading *ἐτι ὅν ποίει σύ* for *τί ὅν ποίεις σύ*.

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ye will not believe. But I say unto you, ye both have seen and yet do not believe."

After this his mother also went down to Capernaum and his brethren and they continued there not many days.

Then came he again into Cana of Galilee [where he made the water wine].

N. THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION: JESUS PROPHESETH THE RAISING OF THE TEMPLE OF HIS BODY

After these things the Dedication [a feast of the Jews] took place at Jerusalem: and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And as he was in Jerusalem at the Feast many believed in his name when they saw the miracles that he was doing.

The Jews therefore answered and said unto him, "What miracle showest thou unto *us*¹ as a proof that thou doest these things?"

Jesus answered and said unto them, "Destroy ye this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up again."

Then said the Jews, "Forty-and-six years was this Temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"

(But he spake of the temple of his body. When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered this that he had said unto them, and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.)

They therefore took up stones to cast at him. But Jesus made himself invisible,² and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by.³

O. THE HEALING OF THE MAN BLIND FROM BIRTH

And as he passed by, he saw a man who had been blind from birth: and his disciples asked him, saying, "Rabbi, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?"

Jesus answered, "Neither this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God might be manifested in him."

When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind

¹ "Us" is emphatic. The Jews of Jerusalem wanted a special miracle for their benefit.

² "Made himself invisible" is surely the correct translation of *ἐκρύβη* in this passage. Observe the sentence, "Going through the midst of them."

³ This sentence is not in all MSS., but is preserved by several of the oldest, and is undoubtedly correct. See also Preface to Pseudo-Johannine Discourses.

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man with the clay, and said unto him, "Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam" (which is by interpretation "Sent").

He went his way therefore and washed, and came seeing.

The neighbours therefore, and they that before had seen him that he was a blind beggar, said, "Is not this he that sat and begged?" Some said, "This is he": others said, "He is like him": he said, "I am he."

They said therefore unto him, "How were thine eyes opened?"

He answered and said unto them, "A man that is called Jesus made clay and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me, 'Go to the Pool of Siloam and wash.' I went therefore, and having washed I received my sight."

Then said they unto him, "Where is he?"

He saith, "I know not."

They brought to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind.

Now it was the Sabbath day when Jesus had made the clay and opened his eyes.

Then again the Pharisees also asked him how he had received his sight; and he said unto them, "He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed and do see."

P. THE MAN THAT HAD BEEN BLIND BEARETH WITNESS

Therefore said some of the Pharisees, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day." Others said, "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" And there was a division among them.

They say unto the blind man again, "What sayest *thou* of him, seeing that he hath opened thine eyes?"

And he said, "I say that he is a prophet."

But the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind, and had received his sight, until they had called the parents of him that had received his sight, and had asked them, saying, "Is this your son, of whom ye say that he was born blind? How then doth he now see?"

His parents answered them and said, "We know that this is our son and that he was born blind. But by what means he now seeth, we know not. He is of age: Ask him. He shall speak for himself."

(These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews. For the Jews had agreed already that, if any man

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did confess that he was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, "He is of age : Ask him.")

Then again called they the man that had been blind and said unto him, "Give God the praise. We know that this man is a sinner."

He answered therefore, "Whether he be a sinner I know not. One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."

They said therefore unto him, "What did he do to thee ? How opened he thine eyes ?"

He answered them, "I have told you already, and ye did not listen. Wherefore would ye hear it again ? Can it be that ye also wish to become his disciples ?"

And they reviled him and said, "Thou art his disciple. But we are disciples of Moses. We know that God spake unto Moses. As for this fellow, we know not whence he is."

The man answered and said unto them, "Why, herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. We know that God heareth not sinners ; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began it was never heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing."

They answered and said unto him, "Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us ?" And they drave him out.

Jesus heard that they had cast him out, and when he had found him, he said, "Dost thou believe on the Son of God ?"

He answered and said, "Who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him ?"

Jesus said unto him, "Thou hast not only seen Him, but he that talketh with thee is He."

And he said, "Lord, I believe" : and he worshipped him.

Q. JESUS REBUKETH THE PHARISEES FOR THEIR BLINDNESS

And Jesus said, "For judgment am I come into this world, that they who see not may see, and that they who see may be made blind."

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And some of the Pharisees who were with him heard these words and said unto him, "Are we blind also?"

Jesus said unto them, "If ye were blind, ye would have no sin. But now that ye say, 'We see,' your sin remaineth."

(For, as Esaias said, "He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them." These things said Esaias when he saw his glory and spake of him.)

Q (A). HE DEPARTETH BEYOND JORDAN

A division again arose among the Jews for these sayings and many of them said, "He hath a devil and is mad. Why harken ye unto him?" Others said, "These are not the words of one that hath a devil. Hath a devil power to open the eyes of the blind?"

Therefore they sought again to take him. But he escaped out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan, unto the place where John at first baptized; and there he abode.

And many resorted unto him and said, "John did no miracle; but all things that John spake of this man were true." And many believed on him there.

R. JESUS IS CALLED TO BETHANY TO HEAL LAZARUS

Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, <the brother> of Mary and her sister Martha.

[It was that Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick.]

Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister, and Lazarus. The sisters therefore sent unto him, saying, "Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick."

When Jesus heard this, he said, "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby."

So then he remained two days still in the place where he was. Then after that he saith unto his disciples, "Let us go into Judæa again."

The disciples say unto him, "Rabbi, the Jews sought of late to stone thee, and goest thou thither again?"

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Jesus answered, "Lazarus, our friend, is laid to rest ; but I go that I may awaken him out of sleep."

The disciples therefore said unto him, "Lord, if he be rested, he shall be restored to health." (Now Jesus spake of his death ; but they thought that he had spoken of the rest of sleep.)

Then Jesus said unto them plainly, "Lazarus is dead. And I rejoice for your sakes that I was not there, to the end that ye may believe. But now let us go unto him."

Then said Thomas called Didymus unto his fellow disciples, "Let us also go that we may die with him."

S. THE TESTIMONY OF MARTHA

Then when Jesus was come to Bethany, where Lazarus was that had died, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already.

Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off ; and many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning their brother.

Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met him. But Mary sat still in the house.

Then said Martha unto Jesus, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God shall give it thee."

Jesus saith unto her, " <If thou wilt believe, thou shalt see the glory of God. Believest thou this ? > " ¹

She saith unto him, "Yea, Lord : I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, who cometh into the world."

And when she had so said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, saying, "The Master is here, and calleth for thee."

And she, when she heard it, rose quickly and came unto him.

The Jews then, who were with her in the house and were comforting her, when they saw Mary that she rose up hastily and went out, followed her, thinking that she was going to the grave to weep there.

T. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

Now Jesus was not yet come into the village, but was in that place where Martha had left him.

¹ See Introduction, p. 27.

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Mary then, when she was come where Jesus was, fell down at his feet, saying unto him, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died."

When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews who came with her also weeping, he groaned in spirit and was troubled, and said, "Where have ye laid him?"

They say unto him, "Lord, come and see."

Jesus wept.

Then said the Jews, "Behold how he loved him." But some of them said, "Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not have died?"

Jesus therefore, again groaning in himself, cometh to the grave. And it was a cave, and a stone had been set against it.

Jesus said, "Take ye away the stone."

Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, "Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four days."

Jesus saith unto her, "Said I not unto thee, 'If thou wilt believe, thou shalt see the glory of God'?"

Then they took away the stone.

† <And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said>, "Father, glorify thy name."

Then came a voice from heaven, saying, "I both have glorified it and will glorify it."

The multitude therefore, that stood by and heard it, said that it thundered. Others said, "An angel hath spoken unto him." †¹

Jesus answered and said, "This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes."

And Jesus lifted up his eyes <again> and said, "Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast heard me. And I knew that Thou hearest me always; but because of the multitude that stand by, I spake, in order that they may believe [that Thou hast sent me]."

And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!"

He that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin.

Jesus saith unto them, "Loose him, and let him go."

¹ †† For the misplacement of this passage see Appendix II.

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U. THE PHARISEES RESOLVE TO KILL JESUS : HE DEPARTETH INTO EPHRAIM

Many therefore of the Jews who had come to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him.

But some went and told the Pharisees what things Jesus had done.

Then <said they one to another>, "What do we ? For this man doeth many miracles, and all men believe on him."

From that day therefore they took counsel together for to put him to death.

Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into a country nigh unto the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim, and there remained with his disciples.

V. JESUS GOETH UP TO JERUSALEM FOR THE PASSOVER AND IS HAILED BY THE MULTITUDE

Now the Passover [of the Jews] was nigh at hand, and many went up out of the country to Jerusalem before the Passover, to purify themselves.

Then sought they for Jesus, and spake among themselves, as they stood in the Temple. "What think ye—that he will not come to the Feast ?"

(For both the Chief Priests and the Pharisees had given orders that, if any man knew where he was, he should lay information, that they might take him.)

Then came Jesus again unto Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus had raised from the dead.

It became known then to that great multitude of the Jews that he was there, and they came not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead.

The Chief Priests then consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death, because that by reason of him many of the Jews were falling away from them and believing on Jesus.

<On the next day that great multitude of them that were come to the Feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm leaves, and went forth

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to meet him and cried, "Hosanna ! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord !" and "The King of Israel." >¹

And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon, as it is written, "Fear not, daughter of Sion. Behold, thy king cometh, sitting on an ass's colt."

(These things understood not his disciples at the first ; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him.)

The multitude therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare witness.

It was for this cause also that the multitude met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle.

(NOTE.—Here the first scroll ends and the second begins.)

But Jesus had not to rely on them, for that all men knew of the deed : and he had no need that any should bear witness concerning the man, for he himself, as they knew, was still in the world of life.²

W. JESUS CONDEMNETH THE PHARISEES FOR THEIR UNBELIEF

The Jews therefore sought him at the Feast, and said, "Where is he ?"

And there was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning him ; some said, "He is a good man" ; others said, "Not so, but he leadeth the multitude astray."

(Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews.)

But of the multitude many believed on him : and they said, "When Christ shall come, will he do more miracles than those which this man doeth ?"

The Pharisees heard the multitude murmuring these things concerning him, <and they sought to take him>. But no man laid hands on him because his hour was not yet come.

Then saith Jesus, "Ye shall seek me and shall not find me ; and where I go, ye cannot come."

The Jews therefore said to one another, "Whither will

¹ This verse from RN has superseded the original verse ; or rather it is probably a conflation of the verses in RN and P.

² See Introduction, p. 29.

this man go that we shall not find him ? Will he journey unto The Dispersion ? ”¹

He said therefore again unto them, “ I go my way and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins. Where I go, ye cannot come.”

The Jews therefore said, “ Will he kill himself that he saith, ‘ Where I go, ye cannot come ’ ? ”

And he said unto them, “ Except ye believe that I am He, ye shall die in your sins. Therefore said I unto you, ‘ Ye shall die in your sins.’ ”

Many of the multitude therefore, when they heard this saying, said, “ Of a truth this is the Prophet ” : others said, “ This is the Christ ” : but some said, “ Shall Christ come out of Galilee ? † Hath not the scripture said it shall be ‘ of the seed of David ’ and ‘ from Bethlehem,’ the town where David was, that Christ cometh ? ” †²

So there was a division among the multitude because of him. <Then said Jesus unto those Jews that believed on him>, “ If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin ; but now they have no cloke for their sin.

If I had not done among them the works which none other did, they had not had sin ; but now they have both seen and hated [both] me [and the Father] : that the word might be fulfilled which is written in their Law, ‘ They hated me without a cause.’ ”

These things spake he and departed, and hid himself from their sight.

But for all that he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him.

(That the saying of the Prophet Esaias might be fulfilled, which he spake, “ Lord, who hath believed our report ? And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed ? ” For this reason they could not believe.)

Nevertheless, among the chief rulers also many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue. For they loved the glory of men, more than the glory of God.

¹ “ The Dispersion ” = the exiled tribes of Israel. The compiler appears to have misunderstood the phrase, and added “ Of the Greeks.” He also added, “ And teach the Greeks,” evidently having in mind the story of the Greeks’ visit to Jesus (see Pseudo-Johannine Discourse WW (1)).

² †† It seems to me not improbable that this sentence was written up by C on the basis of Section XIV of the Story of the Disciple (q.v.).

X. THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE RISEN LORD

When it was evening therefore on that day, the first day of the week, and the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in their midst, and saith unto them, "Peace be unto you."

And when he had so said, he showed unto them his hands and his side.

Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord.

Jesus therefore said unto them again, "Peace be unto you." And when he had said this, he breathed on them and saith unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit: Whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained."

But Thomas, one of the Twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.

The other disciples therefore said unto him, "We have seen the Lord."

But he said unto them, "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe."

Y. THE SECOND APPEARANCE

And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them.

Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in their midst, and said, "Peace be unto you."

Then saith he to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger thus, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless but believing."

Thomas answered and said unto him, "My Lord and my God."

Jesus saith unto him, "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed. Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed."

¹ For a discussion whether P contained an account of the Passion see Introduction, pp. 53 ff.

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Z. THE THIRD APPEARANCE

After these things Jesus manifested himself again to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias. And he manifested himself thus.

There were together Thomas called Didymus and Nathanael of Cana of Galilee and others of his disciples.

Jesus cometh.

And none of the disciples durst ask him, "Who art thou?", knowing that it was the Lord.

Jesus therefore saith unto them, "Children, have ye anything to eat?"

They answered him, "No."

Jesus saith unto them, "Come hither and break your fast." They see a fire of coals burning, and a fish laid thereon, and bread.

And he taketh the bread and giveth to them, and the fish likewise.

This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to the disciples after that he was risen from the dead.

EPILOGUE

Many other miracles indeed did Jesus in the presence of his disciples that are not written in this book; the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.

THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

PREFACE TO THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

1

The author of RN, no less than the author of P, shows in almost every passage of his work an intimate knowledge of Jewish thought and custom. Note, for example, his observation (John xviii. 28) that the Jews would not enter the *Prætorium* for fear of being defiled. But whereas P, as we have seen, was clearly written for a Palestinian audience, RN is as clearly addressed to non-Jewish readers. Not only does the writer translate such common words as "Rabbi" and "Messias" (i. 38, 41), but in such a phrase as "the burial-custom of the Jews" (xix. 40) he speaks as if the Jews were a foreign nation.

2

In the Epilogue he tells us that he has recorded only what he has seen with his own eyes; that is, nothing which he cannot guarantee to be the strict truth. What others may have seen, let others tell. There is more than a hint that he had in mind narratives whose accuracy he doubted. And in one place at least he expressly corrects an erroneous tradition (John xxi. 23); while in several others he can hardly have been unaware that he was contradicting the accounts of the Synoptists. For example, when he tells us that the scene of the calling of Peter and Andrew was not the Sea of Galilee but the Jordan.

3

We have, then, to consider whether this claim to be an eyewitness is, as many students have considered, a falsehood, and the story fiction—of however spiritual and lofty an order.

This can at once be said: if it is fiction, then it is not only a supreme effort of imagination, but an astounding anachronism. For whereas the whole tendency of early fiction was towards the sensational and miraculous, this narrative might have been written by a nineteenth-century realist.

And again, is it psychologically credible that a man who could record the words of Jesus, "For this cause came I into the world that I might bear witness to the Truth," should be himself guilty of what is in plain language a stupendous lie?

For it is no use mincing matters. It is one thing for an author of a romance to use, *within the compass of his tale*, every artifice of his craft to persuade us *in the course of reading it* that we are being told of real happenings to real people; it is entirely another to write an introduction or an epilogue in which he expressly guarantees that what he has to tell us is the literal truth.

4

The evidence may be described as internal and external.

For the first, if the story itself does not convey to the reader's mind the impress of truth, I do not know what story would. There are scores of little touches which are at once wholly natural, and such as no romancer would be likely to invent. Take, for instance, the scene where Peter and the Disciple run to the tomb. Would a romancer make Peter find the tomb empty, and yet meet with no vision or assurance of the Resurrection, in the face of the tradition that our Lord did appear to Peter? Why should he invent the details that the Disciple outran Peter, and yet was afraid to enter the tomb? We can understand that these things might happen: not why anyone should invent the happening.

As to the external evidence, I will briefly compare the narrative with those of the Synoptic Gospels where they deal with the same episodes.

5

It seems clear that the compiler did not make use of the whole of RN; for in the Passion narrative there are several small touches which seem to be in the nature of references to scenes of which we have no account in the Fourth Gospel. The most noticeable is the description of Bethany as "the village of Martha and Mary." The writer seems to assume that the reader is already acquainted with the two sisters.

Taking, however, the scenes which the compiler did select from this part of RN, two only—the sayings about "the Harvest" and "the Food of the Son of Man"—would be

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entirely new to readers of the first three Gospels ; and surely no one would dismiss them as fiction, who would not equally dismiss as fiction the discourses recorded by the Synoptists.

The others may be considered in order :

(i) *The Testimony of John the Baptist*.—The writer makes no attempt to explain why John called Jesus “the Lamb of God,” and it is not easy therefore to see why he should invent this detail. We could understand the invention of a story in which the Baptist showed a miraculous foreknowledge of Jesus’s career ; but in this story John really does nothing but show his realization that he was face to face with a man of exceptional nature. In short, he shows rather less, not more, foreknowledge than in the Synoptic narratives.

(ii) *The calling of Andrew and the Disciple ; and of Peter*.—One could understand a romancer inventing a more detailed account of Peter’s calling, and a prophecy of his future career. The last detail which we would expect him to invent is that Peter was *not*—as commonly supposed—the first called of the disciples, but his brother Andrew, a comparatively unimportant figure.

(iii) *The Draught of Fishes*.—Though Luke (chapter v.) tells the story with considerable differences of detail, he corroborates RN in main outlines. I have already pointed out (see Introduction, p. 50) certain indications that in the original version of the Second Gospel Peter and Andrew had already been called when this event took place.

(iv) *The teaching in the Synagogue at Capernaum*.—This is simply a fuller account of an episode recorded by all the Synoptists (Mark i. 21, 22, and vi. 1-4 ; Luke iv. 16-24 ; Matthew xiii. 54-57). The details differ ; but there is no reason to regard the Disciple’s version as less reliable.

6

Coming, then, to the second part of RN, the Story of the Passion, we may divide the scenes into three groups :

(i) Those which the Disciple describes, but not the Synoptists.

(ii) Those which they record, but not the Disciple.

(iii) Scenes common to both.

In the first group we have “the command to Peter to feed the sheep,” the discourse “the Lifting up of the Son of Man,”

the story of "the Woman taken in Adultery," and the act of Jesus in commending his mother to the Disciple's keeping. I do not think that any Christian will readily dismiss these as fiction, unless he suffers from the obsession that the Fourth Gospel is all fiction from start to finish.

Since the Synoptists themselves differ considerably in their inclusion or omission of detail, the only scenes which, as a whole, we can place in the second group are Judas's visit to the Priests, the preparation of the Last Supper and the Sacrament. And it is perfectly clear that RN originally contained these scenes (whatever may be thought of my reconstruction of them). For the words in chapter xviii. 3, "Judas, having received the band [cohort] and officers from the chief priests," distinctly imply a previous arrangement of which the reader is aware; again, the opening of chapter xiii. seems to assume that the reader knows that the supper which is in progress is the Last Supper; and finally, all tradition has associated chapter vi. 52-56, not with early teaching at Capernaum, but with the institution of the Sacrament.

7

In regard to the third group, where the accounts in the Synoptists and the narrative of RN cover the same ground, if the reader will carefully compare the Marcan version (Mark and Matthew) with the Lucan (Luke only), he will find that in a very large number of points the Lucan story tallies with the Johannine, and not with the Marcan. To take the most obvious example, Luke omits the separate watch with Peter, James and John in the Garden, and he does not call the garden Gethsemane. And, as he follows very closely the general outline and arrangement of the Marcan narrative, these modifications of it can hardly be anything but deliberate.

Luke, again, to some extent corroborates RN on the point that Jesus's arrest was effected by a disciplined force and not by a disorderly rabble, in that in xxii. 4 he tells us that Judas communed with the "Captains." The Greek word is στρατηγοί, "military leaders"; and the only troops in Jerusalem were the Roman.

And lastly, it is now almost universally conceded that the Fourth Gospel is right in placing the Crucifixion, not on the

Passover Day, as in the Synoptic version, but on the Preparation Day.

There are, in short, excellent reasons for holding that the Johannine account of the Passion is the most reliable. And this being so, it seems perverse to dismiss it as fiction.

8

For the most part the story may be left to speak for itself. For though there are many points in it of exceptional interest, and not least the identity of the author, a discussion of them would take us far beyond the confines of a work devoted to the disentanglement of sources ; and they must be left to a separate edition of the story.

One point, however, may be mentioned as having a direct bearing on the placing of passages and their attribution to RN rather than to P.

As I view it, the note of time, " Six days before the passover Jesus came to Bethany," is no casual mention, recorded simply as a matter of interest, but is a guide to the whole chronology of Passion week.

Remember firstly, that the ancient practice was to count in both the day from which and the day to which an interval was reckoned. Secondly, the Jewish day began at sundown. Thus the Passover Sabbath began in modern phrase on Friday evening.

The days will then be as follows :

- 1st. Monday (afternoon ?). Jesus arrives at Bethany.
- 2nd. Monday evening. The Supper at Bethany.
Tuesday morning (" on the morrow "). Jesus starts for Jerusalem, but goes to the Mount of Olives instead, in order to escape the mob.
- 3rd. Tuesday night. Jesus remains on the Mount.
Wednesday morning. Jesus enters Jerusalem and cleanses the Temple.
Wednesday noon. The Sanhedrin meets and decides on Jesus's death.
Wednesday afternoon. The Pharisees attempt to arrest Jesus, but their servants fear the mob. Jesus prophesies his crucifixion.
- 4th. Wednesday evening. Jesus returns to the Mount.
Thursday morning. He rescues the Woman taken in

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Adultery, and orders (noon ?) the preparation of the Last Supper. Judas at once goes to the Chief Priests and confers with them (afternoon).

5th. Thursday evening. The Last Supper.

Thursday night (about midnight ?). The arrest.

Friday before dawn. Jesus is brought before Caiaphas.

"The cock crows." He is condemned and brought before Pilate "early in the morning."

Friday noon ("about the sixth hour"), Jesus is crucified, dies and is buried in haste before sundown.

6th. Friday evening. The Passover begins.

This chronology explains two points that may be obscure to some in the Marcan version :

(1) It is clear, from Mark xi. 12, that the Cleansing of the Temple took place on the day after the start from Bethany for Jerusalem, but it is not clear why Jesus postponed it. xi. 11 is not found in the Matthæan version, which closely follows it. I suggest that Mark did not quite understand his source, and left Jesus apparently entering Jerusalem on one day, and yet going up from Bethany to Jerusalem on the next ; and that verse 11 was an interpolation designed to remove the obscurity. The Disciple's story makes the matter clear.

(2) Mark xiv. 1, "After two days was the Passover [to take place]." The meeting of the Sanhedrin was on Wednesday. The "two days" were from Wednesday evening to Friday evening.

9

The theory on which the missing pages of the story have been reconstructed has been outlined in pp. 70-72 of the Introduction. But I may add one point of interest.

Augustine called Mark "pedisequus tanquam et breviator," which may be translated freely as "a hack-writer who abridged his sources." It is true that Augustine believed the Second Gospel to be an abridgment of the *First* (which it obviously is not) : but may not these caustic epithets preserve a true tradition that the Marcan narrative was to some extent a précis of a longer account ?

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- XVIII. Jesus prophesieth the Lifting up of the Son of Man.
- XIX. Jesus rescueth a Woman taken in Adultery.
- XX. Jesus biddeth his Disciples prepare the Last Supper.
- XXI. The Last Supper : Jesus washeth the Disciples' Feet.
- XXII. The Last Supper : the Sacrament of Bread and Wine.
- XXIII. The Last Supper : Jesus foretelleth his Betrayal.
- XXIV. The Last Supper : the Commandment of Love.
- XXV. Jesus foretelleth Peter's present Denial and later Martyrdom.
- XXVI. Jesus goeth to the Mount of Olives : he sheweth why he must needs die, and biddeth Farewell to the Disciples.
- XXVII. Jesus prayeth for his Own.
- XXVIII. Jesus prayeth alone.
- XXIX. The Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus.
- XXX. Jesus is brought before Caiaphas : Peter's Denial.
- XXXI. The Trial before Caiaphas continued : Jesus replieth to the Charge of making himself the Son of God.
- XXXII. Jesus is tried by Pilate : he answereth the Charge of Blasphemy.
- XXXIII. The Trial before Pilate continued : Jesus answereth the Charge of making himself a King.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

- XXXIV. Pilate scourgeth Jesus ; and would release him to the Jews,
but they prefer Barabbas.
- XXXV. Pilate delivereth Jesus to be Crucified ; and writeth a Title
for the Cross.
- XXXVI. Jesus on the Cross commendeth his Mother to the Disciple's
Keeping.
- XXXVII. The Death of Jesus.
- XXXVIII. The Burial of Jesus.
- XXXIX. The Finding of the Empty Tomb.
- XL. The Vision of Mary Magdalene.
- EPILOGUE.

NOTE

In reference to the theory that "the Story of the Disciple" was written in pages of 180-200 letters, it may interest the reader to know that the Greek texts of the following sections of the first book contain :

I.	(up to "the witness of John") .	.	.	189 letters, 1 page.
	(Thence to the end) .	.	.	377 ,, 2 pages
II.	.	.	.	384 ,, 2 "
III.	.	.	.	376 ,, 2 "
IV.	.	.	.	575 ,, 3 "
V.	.	.	.	379 ,, 2 "
VI.	.	.	.	948 ,, 5 "
VII.	.	.	.	755 ,, 4 "

Though the *exact* number of letters depends on the readings adopted, scholars will, I think, find that the result is not materially changed, even if they follow the standard text in the individual verses ; and as to the grouping of verses (e.g. in Section IV), this was made on entirely different grounds.

THE STORY OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

FIRST BOOK : THE MINISTRY OF JESUS

I. *The Witness of John the Baptist*

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

He came to bear witness of the Light, that through him all men might believe <in the Light>.

He was not himself the Light, but he bare witness of the Light.

And this is the witness of John.

John seeth Jesus coming to him and saith, "Behold the Lamb of God [that taketh away the sins of the World]."¹

This is he of whom I cried,² saying, 'after me cometh a man who is preferred before me : for he was before me.'

And I knew him not : but for this cause came I baptizing with water, that he might be made manifest to Israel."

And he bare witness, saying, "I have had a vision³ of the Spirit descending like a dove from Heaven, and it rested upon him ; and He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me,⁴ This is he that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit."

II. *The Calling of Andrew and the Disciple*

Again the next day John was standing and two of his disciples ; and looking upon Jesus walking there, he saith, "Behold the Lamb of God !"

And the two disciples heard him speak and they followed Jesus.

¹ The sentence in brackets is omitted by some of the best MSS.

² John i. 15, which in its present place is an interpolated cross-reference, preserves the true reading. Both P (i. 30) and RN recorded the saying which seems to be historical.

³ "I have had a vision" (τεθέαμαι).

⁴ The compiler (or possibly a later editor), by interpolating the sentence, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and resting upon him," has changed the subjective and spiritual vision of the Baptist to a pre-communicated "sign."

THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

Jesus then, turning round and seeing them following, saith unto them, "What seek ye?"

And they said unto him "Rabbi (which is, being interpreted "Master"), where dwellest thou?"

He saith unto them, "Come and see."

So they came and saw where he was lodging, and stayed with him that day. (For it was about the tenth hour.¹)

III. *The Calling of Peter*

On the morrow Jesus was minded to go forth to Galilee. (For Jesus did not baptize there, neither his disciples.)²

Now one of those two that had heard what John said, and had followed Jesus, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.

He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, "We have found the Messiah" (which is, being interpreted "The Christ").

He brought him to Jesus; and when Jesus had looked upon him, he said, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas? Thou shalt be called Kephas" (that is, being interpreted, "Rock").

IV. *The Food of the Son of Man*

<So Jesus, leaving the Jordan, set forth for Galilee.>³

And being wearied with the journey, he sat down by a spring.⁴ It was about the sixth hour.

And the disciples went away to buy provisions; <and when they returned,> they besought him saying, "Rabbi, eat."

But he said unto them, "I have food to eat that ye know not of."

Then said the disciples one to another, "Hath any man brought him aught to eat?"

¹ The tenth hour = about two hours before sundown, i.e. too late to start on a journey.

² The insertion of this sentence (with a slight alteration) in John iv. 2 has led to a peculiar contradiction of iii. 22. It is a good instance of the dislike which an ancient compiler had of totally omitting any sentence of his sources, if he could possibly work it in somehow. If the compiler had put in the sentence as it originally stood, the discrepancy would be irreconcilable. He did his best by making the disciples baptize, but not Jesus himself, though this suggests a question which he makes no attempt to answer.

³ Cf. John iv. 3. The sentence in brackets was omitted owing to the change in the placing of the scene.

⁴ "A spring," *πηγή*, a natural fountain, as opposed to a masonry well, *φρέαρ*. Jacob's well at Sychar was a *φρέαρ*. The sixth hour = noon.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

Jesus saith to them "My food is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to complete His work. Do ye <the works of God, and ye shall receive that everlasting food>¹ which the Son of Man shall give you."

They said therefore unto him, "What must we do that we may do the works of God?"

Jesus answered, "This is the work of God, if ye believe on him whom He hath sent."

V. *The Harvest*

"Say not ye, 'There are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest'?"

Behold, I say unto you lift up your eyes and look upon the fields: they are white already to the harvest.

Already he that reapeth receiveth his wage, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal: that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.

And herein is that saying true, 'One soweth and another reapeth.'

I have sent you forth² to reap that whereon ye have bestowed no labour. Other men have laboured and ye have inherited <the fruit of>³ their labours."

VI. *Jesus teacheth in the Synagogue: "A prophet hath no honour in his own country"*⁴

<And he went on from thence, and cometh into his own country. And when the Sabbath was come, he began to teach in the synagogue. And when they heard him,>⁵ they marvelled, saying, "How hath this man letters, never having learned?"

He answered them, "My teaching is not mine, but His that sent me. If any man be willing to do His will, he will recognize concerning the teaching whether it is of God or whether I speak of mine own authority.

For of mine own authority I do nothing; but as the Father

¹ See Appendix III (on Emendations).

² Or rather "I have ordained you."

³ Reading τὸν καρπὸν τῶν κόπων. The omission of the first two words is a copying error of a common type.

⁴ For a full discussion of this section see Introduction, p. 49.

⁵ For the first three lines cf. Mark vi. 1-2, which I believe to be a direct reminiscence of the oral version.

THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

hath taught me, I speak these things : because I have come down from Heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me."

They then murmured at him because he said that he had come down from heaven, and were saying, "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then doth he now say, 'I have come down from Heaven'?"

<Then Jesus, knowing that they were murmuring, saith,>¹ "Ye both know me and know whence I am.² And yet it is not from <that father whom ye know>³ that I am come, but I have a true Father,⁴ He that sent me, whom ye know not. But I know Him and that I am from Him, and He hath sent me."

These things he spake as he taught in the synagogue at Capernaum.

And Jesus bare witness, saying, "A prophet hath no honour in his own country."

VII. *The Draught of Fishes*⁵

There were together Simon Peter and the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples.

Simon Peter saith to them, "I go a-fishing."

They say unto him, "We also are coming with thee." They went forth therefore and entered into the boat : and in all that night they caught nothing.

And when day was now breaking, Jesus came and stood upon the shore. (But the disciples did not recognize that it was Jesus.)

¹ Cf. John vi. 41, 43. The compiler has conflated two verses dealing with a "murmuring." Compare "the Bread of Life," p. 172.

² I.e. "Ye think that ye know," etc. Jesus often stated his opponents' case thus. E.g. in that misunderstood saying, "Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or tittle shall in nowise pass from the law," where the real meaning is (or should be) revealed by the sequel, "But I say unto you, except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matthew v. 18-20).

³ Reading τοῦ πατρὸς ὃν οἴδατε for ἐμαυτοῦ. I suggest that these words, which are essential to the sense, were overlooked owing to their similarity to the neighbouring καὶ οἴδατε καὶ οἴδατε.

⁴ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς ὁ πέμψας με must (surely) mean, "There is a true One, He that sent me," not, as in the authorized translation, "He that sent me is true." "A true One" = a true Father; and "there is" in this context = "I have."

⁵ For a full discussion of John xxi. 1-14, see Introduction, pp. 50 ff.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

And he said to them, "Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and ye shall find."

They cast therefore, and now they had not strength enough to draw it in for the multitude of fishes.

Then the Disciple¹ saith unto Peter, "It is the Lord." Then Peter, hearing him say, "It is the Lord," girt his cloak about him (for he was stripped) and leaped straightway into the sea.

And the others came in the dinghy² (for they were not far from land, but about two hundred cubits) dragging the net with the fishes.

So soon then as they were come to land, Simon Peter went up and drew the net to land full of fishes; and for all that there were so many, yet was the net not broken.

THE SECOND BOOK: THE PASSION OF JESUS

VIII. *Jesus warneth the Disciples of his Coming Death*

Now the Passover was nigh at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. <And as they were on the road> he declareth unto them the fate that was awaiting him,³ <saying>,

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, a servant is not greater than his master; neither is one that is sent greater than he that sent him.

If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you: if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all <that they do unto you> they will do unto you for my name's sake.

¹ The MSS. read, "The disciple whom Jesus loved." I believe that (except in the Epilogue) the writer called himself simply "the Disciple." The full reasons cannot be given here, but I would ask Greek scholars to study, in the light of this suggestion, all those verses in which the words "whom Jesus loved" occur. I think they will agree with me that they are often very awkwardly placed, and this suggests that the editor inserted them. The point is of some little importance, since the general temper of the work does not suggest that the writer would claim to have been loved more than any other disciple whatsoever (Peter, for example). In the Epilogue the words simply tell us that Jesus did love him, not that Jesus loved him to the exclusion of others. And surely Jesus, as the Disciple draws him for us, loved all with a love that withheld nothing.

I may remark that, if (as some think) the Disciple was not the son of Zebedee, the "two other disciples" of the opening verse are presumably Andrew and the Disciple, the only two (other than Peter) who had been called so far. In that case we should read "*the other two disciples.*"

² The dinghy: τῷ πλοιαρίῳ.

³ Reading "ἀναγγέλλει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτὸν."

They shall put you out of the synagogues. Yea, the hour cometh when whoever killeth you shall think that he doeth God service. And such things will they do unto you because they know not the Father nor me.

<When that hour is come, let no man take thought what he shall say.>¹ For he shall not speak of himself, but shall speak the words that are given unto him.² The Comforter, whom I will send unto you from the Father—even the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father—He shall testify of me. Yet ye also shall testify, because ye have been with me from the beginning.

These things have I told you that, when the hour shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them. And I told you not at the beginning, because I was with you.

But now I go my way to Him that sent me. . . .

And none of you questioneth me : but because I have said these things to you, distress hath filled your hearts. Nevertheless I tell you the truth.

It is for your good that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you : but if I pass away, I will send Him unto you. And when he is come, He shall put the World to the test, with true judgment concerning Sin and Righteousness.³

<But now is the judgment of the World delivered, and the Prince of this World doth prevail>³: and ye behold me no more, because I go to the Father.

A little while and ye behold me not ; and again a little while and ye shall see me."

Then said some of his disciples among themselves, "What is this that he saith unto us, 'A little while and ye behold me not, and again a little while and ye shall see me,' and 'Because I go to the Father'? What is this 'little while'? We cannot tell what he meaneth."

Now Jesus knew that they were desirous to question him, and said unto them, "Do ye inquire among yourselves what I meant when I said, 'a little while and ye behold me not, and again a little while and ye shall see me'?"

Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and

¹ See Appendix III.

² Reading "λαλήσει τὰ διδόμενα." The compiler (or the Diorthotes) confused the two phrases. Cf. xviii. 4, εἰδὼς τὰ ἐρχόμενα. See Appendix III.

³ See Appendix III.

lament, but the World shall rejoice. And ye shall be sorrowful : but your sorrow shall be turned into joy.

A woman, when she is in travail, hath sorrow, because her hour is come ; but so soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world.

So do ye also now have sorrow : but then again I will see you, and your heart shall rejoice, and of your joy shall no man rob you.

So far have I spoken unto you in parables. But the Hour cometh. I will no more speak to you in parables, but will declare my meaning plainly ; and ye shall put to me no question.

I came forth from the Father and am come into the world : again I leave the world and go unto the Father."

His disciples said unto him, " Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no parable. Now we know <what thou sayest>, and thou hast no need that any man should question thee."

He saith unto them, " Ye have heard why¹ I said, ' I go.' If ye loved me, ye would rejoice that I go unto the Father. And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it come to pass, ye may believe the words that I have spoken unto you, ' The Flesh profiteth nothing : it is the Spirit that is Life.'

But there are some of you that believe not."

(For he knew that there were some who by reason of this saying had no faith in him.²)

IX. *Many Disciples desert him : Peter declareth his Faith*

Upon this many of his disciples turned back and walked with him no more.

Then said Jesus unto the Twelve, " Will ye also go away ? "

Simon Peter answered him, " Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life ; and we believe, nay are sure, that thou art the Holy One of God."

<Likewise all the Twelve say unto him, " Do we not also>³ know that thou knowest all things ? By this we believe that thou camest forth from God."

¹ Reading δι' ὅτι for ὅτι.

² The words, " from the beginning . . . who it was that should betray him " are a gloss intended to show a miraculous foreknowledge on Jesus' part. A similar gloss will be found in xiii. 11 ; vi. 65 is an editorial cross-reference to vi. 37, 44. The whole verse is a modification of the original.

³ See Appendix I.

Jesus answered them, "Ye believe *now*. Behold, the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his home, and shall leave me alone; yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

<Then saith Peter unto him, "What is this that thou hast said? I will never be so made to stumble.">¹

Jesus answered him, "Have I not chosen you Twelve? Yet even of you one is a devil."

(He was speaking of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. For he it was that was minded to betray him.)²

X. *Jesus prophesieth the Hatred of the World, but encourageth the Twelve*

Then said Jesus unto them, "Your time of trial³ is not yet present, but mine is ever at hand.

Not yet can the World hate you; but me it hateth, because I bear witness that its works are evil.

Howbeit my time of trial is not yet completed.

If the World doth hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the World, the World would love its own. But because ye are not of the World, therefore the World shall hate you.

Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, in order that my joy may be fulfilled in you.

Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name. At that day ye shall ask in my name. Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.

For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came forth from God."

XI. *Jesus commandeth Peter to feed his Sheep*

Then, as they were going,⁴ Jesus saith unto Peter, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?"

¹ I.e. so misguided as to forsake thee. Cf. Mark xiv. 29. See also Appendix II.

² The MSS. add the unnecessary words, "Being one of the Twelve": a typical gloss.

³ "Time of trial," *καιρός*, lit. "opportunity"; so the opportunity to prove one's worth.

⁴ Reading *ἀπρί ἦσαν* for *ἡρπστησαν*: note *ἀκολουθοῦντα* in verse 20.

Peter saith unto him, "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." He saith unto him, "Feed my lambs."

He saith unto him again the second time, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" He saith unto him, "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." He saith unto him, "Be a shepherd to my sheep."

He saith unto him again the third time, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Peter was grieved that he said unto him the third time, "Lovest thou me?" and he said unto him, "Lord, thou knowest all things. Thou *knowest* that I love thee."

Jesus said unto him, "Feed my sheep."

Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that loveth his soul shall lose it, and he that hateth his soul in this world shall preserve it ¹ unto life eternal.

If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be."

And having spoken thus, he said unto him, "Follow me."

Then Peter, turning about, seeth The Disciple following, and saith unto Jesus, "Lord, and this one—what of him?" Jesus saith unto him, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me?"

(Then went forth that saying ² among the brethren that The Disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said unto him not, "He shall not die" but "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?")

XII. *Jesus cometh to Bethany: Mary anointeth his Feet*

Then Jesus, six days before the Passover, came to Bethany, the village of Martha and Mary. There they made him a supper; and Martha served, but <Mary> was one of those that sat with him.

Mary then took a pound of ointment of spike-nard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

Then saith one of the disciples—Judas Iscariot, he that was minded to betray him—"Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?"

(This he said, not because he cared for the poor, but because

¹ Reading ζωογονήσει. See Introduction, p. 68.

² Cf. Mark ix. 1.

he was a thief and, being the keeper of the purse, he had the handling of what was put therein.)

Then said Jesus, "Let her alone. Against the day of my burying hath she kept this.

The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always."

XIII. On his way to Jerusalem he is hailed by the Multitude as a King

On the morrow the great multitude that was come for the Feast, hearing that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried continually :

"Hosanna ! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord " and "The King of Israel."

Jesus therefore, perceiving that they are intending to come and take him by force to make him a king, escapeth into the Mount.¹

XIV. Jesus goeth up to Jerusalem and cleanseth the Temple. The Pharisees rebuke the Multitudes for hailing him as the Saviour

<The day following> Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

And he found in the Temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting ; and having made a scourge of small cords, he drove all the sheep and the oxen out of the Temple, and poured out the changers' coin, and overthrew their tables, and to them that sold doves he said, "Take these hence. Make not the Father's House a house of merchandise."

<And at his coming to Jerusalem, the whole city was stirred, saying, "Who is this fellow ? " And the multitudes said, "This is The Prophet, Jesus the Galilæan.">²

¹ I.e. the Mount of Olives. I think that its insertion as a cross-reference at vi. 15 was the cause of the displacement of this verse.

² Cf. Matthew xxi. 10, 11. It is reasonable to think that these verses were in the copy of Mark which the author of the First Gospel used. It may be noted that the verses from "And at his coming . . ." to " . . . Saviour of the world " contain 194 letters in the Greek : and the verses "When therefore . . . cometh " 191 letters.

And out of the city many believed on him, saying, "Of a truth this is the Saviour of the World."

When therefore the Pharisees heard <it said that "Jesus is greater than John," they rebuked the multitudes, saying,> "Ye worship ye know not what. We worship that which we do know. <And we know> that it is from among the Jews¹ that our salvation cometh."

*XV. The Chief Priests decide to put Jesus to Death²:
The Protest of Nicodemus*

The Chief Priests and the Pharisees therefore convened a meeting of the Sanhedrin, and discussed how they might put him to death.

<Now the Feast of the Passover and of unleavened bread was to take place after two days. Some said therefore, "Not during the Feast, lest there be an uproar of the people">³ and the Romans will come and take away our place."

But one of them—Caiaphas, the High Priest for that year—said unto them, "Ye know nothing at all. If we let him go thus, <ye shall lose both your place and the nation.> Or do ye not consider it meet that one man should die for the people, in order that the whole nation may not perish?"

(Now this he spake not of himself,⁴ but being High Priest for that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for that nation only but that also he should gather into one fold all the children of God that are scattered throughout the world.)

They then resolved that they would put him to death.

Nicodemus saith, being one of them, "Surely our Law doth not condemn the man without a hearing and examination?"

They answered him, "Art thou also of Galilee? Search <the scriptures> and mark well that it is not out of Galilee that The Prophet ariseth."

¹ I.e. not from Galilee. "Our salvation," ἡ σωτηρία (not simply σωτηρία). I am inclined to think that the original had not ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων but ἐκ γῆς Ἰούδα.

² The account in the Fourth Gospel, xi. 47–53, is a conflation of the versions of RN and P. It is not possible to disentangle the elements with certainty.

³ Cf. Mark xiv. 2. "An uproar" (θόρυβος) implies more than a mere commotion: it means "a civil war," "revolution." The fainthearted feared that the Romans would hold them responsible and take away their "place" (i.e. position and privileges).

⁴ "Not of himself," i.e. he spake as one inspired.

XVI. *Certain Men warn Jesus : He refuseth to Flee*

<In that very hour came certain men to Jesus, and said, "Get thee gone. For they are seeking to kill thee.">¹

He answered, "Are there not twelve hours in the day ? I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day. Night cometh when no man can work."

XVII. *Officers are sent to seize Jesus : but they fear the Multitude*²

And the Chief Priests and Pharisees sent officers to seize Jesus.

Now some of them were willing to seize him, but no man laid hands on him. For of the multitude many believed on him.

The officers therefore returned to the Chief Priests and Pharisees, and the same said unto them, "Why have ye not brought him ?"

The officers answered, "What are we to do ? For all men believe on him. Never man spake like this man."

The Pharisees answered, "Are ye also led astray ? Have any of the Rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees ? But this multitude that knoweth not the Law is accursed."

And they said to one another, "Look ye how nothing availeth aught. Behold, the whole world is gone after him."

XVIII. *Jesus prophesieth the Lifting Up of the Son of Man*

These words spake Jesus in the Treasury, as he taught :

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye shall see Heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man."³

No man hath ascended up to Heaven save he that is of Heaven.⁴

¹ I suggest that Luke xiii. 31-33 is a variant account of this episode. If this account (which is 191 letters in the Greek) was on a loose page, the compiler's placing of it is plausible.

² There are indications in the MSS. that the language of this section has undergone some simplification by the compiler. I imagine that RN had something approximating to Luke's phrase (xix. 48) : "For all the people hung upon him." "Officers" is a rather misleading translation of *ὑπηρέται*, who formed a sort of bodyguard whose duty it was to keep order in the Temple and the Jewish courts of law ; somewhat like the Indian "chaprasi."

³ Cf. Genesis xxviii. 12. The imagery is that of the Cross set up as a ladder from earth to heaven.

⁴ Reading *ὁ ὢν ἐκ τοῦ οὐράνου*. Cf. John iii. 31, *ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς γῆς* ("He that is of the earth").

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up : that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life."

The multitude said one to another, " We have heard out of the Law that Christ abideth for ever : and how sayeth he, ' the Son of Man must be lifted up ' ? "

And Jesus, knowing in himself that they murmured at this saying, said unto them, " Doth this perplex you ? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before ? "

They then asked him, " Who is *this* Son of Man ? "

Jesus answered them, " When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am He.

And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, shall draw all men unto me."

(This said he, signifying by what death he was to die.) These words spake Jesus, and departed from the Temple.

XIX. *Jesus rescueth a Woman taken in Adultery*¹

And they went their way every man to his own house, but Jesus made his way to the Mount of Olives.

And in the morning he came again into the Temple.

Then the Priests bring unto him—to tempt him, that they might have cause for an accusation against him—a woman taken in adultery ; and having set her in the midst, they say to him, " Rabbi, this woman hath been taken in adultery in the very act. Now in the Law Moses commanded us to stone such. What then sayest *thou* ? " But Jesus only bent down and wrote with his finger in the dust.

And when they persisted in asking him, he lifted himself up again and said, " He that is without sin among you, let him be the first to cast a stone." And again he bent down and wrote upon the dust.

And they, when they heard this, went out one by one, beginning with the Elders ; and he was left alone, and the woman in the midst.

Then Jesus rose again and said, " Woman, where are thine accusers ? Hath no man condemned thee ? " And she said, " No man, Lord."

¹ My version is based on Codex D. See page 45.

Jesus said unto her, "Neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way ; from henceforth sin no more."

XX. *Jesus biddeth his Disciples prepare the Last Supper*

Now before the Preparation of the Passover, Jesus, knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world to the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.

¹ <He therefore sendeth two of the disciples into the City, saying, "There shall meet you a man, bearing a pitcher of water. Follow him, and wherever he shall enter in, say to the goodman of the house, 'The Master saith, Where is that guest chamber of mine,' that I may eat there this night with my disciples ? A large upper-chamber shall be shown to you. There make ready.">

And when this took place, the devil having already put it into his heart to betray him, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, knowing that all things were delivered into his hands, went forth from thence, and goeth ² <to the Chief Priests and revealed it.

And they rejoiced, seeing a convenient opportunity to take Jesus in the absence of the multitude. And they covenanted to give him money, and to send the cohort ⁴ and officers to take Jesus when he should depart again after the Supper.>

XXI. *The Last Supper : Jesus washeth the Disciples' Feet*

⁵ <In the evening cometh Jesus with the Twelve, and when they had sat down,> he riseth from the supper-table and taking a towel he girded himself. Then he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash his disciples' feet and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.

¹ See Appendix I, p. 196, for the inserted passages ; and compare, for the first, Luke xxii. 8-12, Mark xiv. 13-15.

² "That guest-chamber of mine" (τὸ κατὰ λυμά μου). "μου" implies that Jesus had already arranged with the goodman (i.e. owner of the house) for the loan of the room.

³ Cf. Mark xiv. 10, 11, and Luke xxii. 4-6. "A convenient opportunity" (εὐκαιρίαν).

⁴ The cohort ("ἡ σπεῖρα"). The garrison-troops of Jerusalem under a Tribune (χιλάρχος), who acted also as city police. (See Acts xxi. 31, 32.) "The Band" is a very queer and misleading translation. "Cohort" is a sufficiently familiar word.

⁵ Cf. Mark xiv. 17.

So cometh he to Simon Peter, who saith unto him, "Lord, dost *thou* wash *my* feet? Thou shalt never wash my feet."

Jesus answered him, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me."

Simon Peter saith unto him, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head."¹

Then, when he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, "Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me 'Master' and 'Lord,' and ye may well, for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example that ye should do unto each other as I have done to you."

Ye are my friends if ye do what I command you. No longer do I call you servants: for the servant knoweth not what his master doeth. But I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard from the Father I have made known unto you.

If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

XXII. *The Last Supper: The Sacrament of Bread and Wine*

² <After this, as they were eating, he saith unto them, "With great longing have I longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the vine ere I shall drain the cup that the Father giveth me to drink."³

Then he took bread, and having given thanks he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you."

¹ The verse that follows (John xiii. 10, "He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit") is very clumsy in the Greek, and not at all in the writer's style. It is, in my opinion, an interpolation, intended to cover the absence of any mention whether Jesus did wash anything more than Peter's feet.

² For this passage compare Mark xiv. 22-25, Luke xxii. 14-20.

³ It is part of the "irony" of the Passion story that in fact the next "cup" that Jesus drank was the vinegar on the Cross. The variants of this saying (Luke xxii. 18, Mark xiv. 25, Matthew xxvi. 29) suggest that the Synoptists did not understand what Jesus meant by "the Cup of the Father." They thought he meant "the cup of glory in heaven" not "the cup of suffering."

And likewise a cup, saying, " Drink, for this shall be the new covenant in my blood which is shed for you.

This do ye for ever, in remembrance of me.>

Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.

For my flesh is the true food, and my blood the true drink.

He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him."

XXIII. *The Last Supper : Jesus foretelleth his Betrayal*

When Jesus had thus spoken he was troubled in spirit and testified, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me."

Then looked the disciples one at another, being at a loss to know of whom he spake.

Now The Disciple was reclining in Jesus' bosom. Simon Peter therefore beckoneth to him, as if to say, " Tell me, who is it of whom he speaketh ? "

He then, leaning back on Jesus' breast, saith unto him, " Lord, who is it ? "

Jesus answered, " He it is for whom I shall dip the sop and give it to him." Then, dipping the sop, he taketh and giveth it to Judas. And after the sop the latter stood up and went to the door.¹

Jesus therefore saith to him, " What thou doest, do quickly." <Peter saith to Jesus therefore, " Lord, what doth this man do ? ">² Jesus answered, " What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt understand hereafter."

So no man at the table knew for what reason he had spoken so to Judas. For some thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had meant, " Buy those things that we have need of for the Feast," or that he should give something to the poor.

He then, having received the sop, went immediately out.

And it was night.

¹ Reading *ἀναστὰς εἰσῆλθεν ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν θύραν* for *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκείνον ὁ Σατανᾶς*. Satan had entered into Judas long before (see xiii. 2). When Jesus gave Judas the sop he was panic-stricken that Jesus would denounce him to the Disciples, and at once rose to go, but the copyist read *anastas* as *satanas*, and the other changes are consequential. (A recollection, perhaps, of Luke xxii. 3.)

² Taken by the Diorthotes to be a duplicate of xxi. 21. He misunderstood the point of Jesus' answer, which was in effect, " Never mind what *he* is doing : and what I am doing you will understand in good time."

XXIV. *The Last Supper : The Commandment of Love*

When, then, Judas had gone out, Jesus said, " Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him. And God shall glorify him in turn, and very soon now shall he glorify him.

Little children, yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto Him that sent me.¹

So now I say unto you, A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. As I have loved you, so do ye also love one another. By this all men shall know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one for another.

If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments.

He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me ; and he that loveth me shall be loved of the Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself unto him.

Yet a little while, and the world beholdeth me no more. But ye behold me. Because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in the Father and ye in me, and I in you.

I will not leave you utterly bereft. I come again to you, and I will also pray the Father, and He shall give you a second Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever—even the Spirit of Truth, whom the World cannot receive, because it beholdeth Him not, neither knoweth Him. But ye know Him. He shall dwell with you and shall be in you.

These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. And that Comforter—the Holy Spirit whom the Father will send in my name—He shall teach you all things and shall bring to your remembrance all things that I have said to you.

Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you : not indeed as the World giveth give I unto you.

Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.

Arise, let us go hence."

XXV. *Jesus foretelleth Peter's present Denial and later Martyrdom*

Simon Peter saith unto him, " Lord, whither goest thou ? "

Jesus answered him, " Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now. But thou shalt follow me afterwards."

¹ See Appendix II.

Peter saith unto him, "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now?"

<He answereth, "Wilt thou drink the Cup of the Father?"² Verily, verily, I say unto thee <that this very night>,³ or ever the cock shall crow, thou shalt deny me thrice."

<And Peter was grieved, and kept saying unto him, "Lord, I will never deny thee." I will lay down my life for thy sake." He answereth, "Thou shalt indeed lay down thy life for my sake <but not now>."

†Verily, verily, I say unto thee, being yet in thy youth, thou girdest thyself, and walkest whither thou wilt. But in thine old age thou shalt stretch forth thine hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldest not."

(This spake he signifying by what death he was to glorify God).†

XXVI. *Jesus goeth to the Mount of Olives : he sheweth why he must needs die and biddeth farewell to the Disciples*

When Jesus had spoken these words he went forth with his disciples across the brook Kedron and passed over to the Mount of Olives.³

<And they besought him, saying, "Lord, we would preserve thy life.">⁴

Jesus answereth them, saying, "The Hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified.

Now is my soul troubled and what shall I say?—'Father, save me from this hour'? Nay, but for this cause came I unto this hour, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone : but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.

But let not *your* heart be troubled. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go to prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also.

These things have I spoken unto you that ye may not be perplexed.⁵

¹ The compiler (I suggest) having misplaced the page (††) that is now John xxi. 18, 19, considerably modified this passage.

² For the inserted lines cf. Mark x. 38, xiv. 30, 31.

³ See Appendix II., p. 202.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 68.

⁵ Lit. made to stumble ; i.e. dismayed, and caused to lose faith by my death.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

I have yet many things to say to you, but ye cannot hear them now. Howbeit, when the Spirit of Truth is come, He shall guide you into all Truth. He shall glorify me; for He taketh of mine ¹ and shall declare it unto you.

No longer shall I speak much with you; for the Prince of the World cometh. And nothing more is laid on me,² but that the World may know that I love the Father.

Greater love hath no man than this—that a man lay down his life for his friends.

Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again.³

No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and have power to take it again.

This commandment have I received from the Father.

And this is my commandment to you.

Love one another, even as I have loved you.

As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you.

Continue ye in my love.

If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide—even as I have kept His commandments and abide—in His love.

These words have I spoken unto you, that my *Joy* may remain in you.

These commandments give I unto you, that ye may have *Love* one for another.

These words have I spoken to you, that in me ye may have *Peace*.

In the World ye shall have tribulation. But be of good cheer. *I have overcome the World.*"

XXVII. *Jesus prayeth for his Own*

These words spake Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven and said:

"Father, the Hour is come. Glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may also glorify Thee.

<Grant unto him eternal life> even as Thou hast given him power over all flesh that it should have eternal life. And this

¹ I.e. he inheriteth, or succeedeth to, my mission or teaching.

² ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν is impersonal; it is the same as οὐδέν ἐνέχει ἐμοί.

³ I am inclined to think that the original had "that they may have life" (ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχωσιν).

is life eternal, that men should know Thee to be the One True God.¹

I have glorified Thee on the earth. I have finished the work that Thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou me.

I have manifested Thy Name unto the men whom Thou gavest me out of the World. Thine they were, and Thou gavest them to me.

Even as Thou gavest me, I have given them Thy Word; and they have kept Thy Word.

Now they have known that all things, whatsoever Thou hast given me, are of Thee. For the words that Thou gavest me, I have given unto them; and they have received them, and have known for sure that I came forth from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send me.

I pray for them,² for those whom Thou hast given me; for they are mine. And all mine are Thine, and Thine are mine, and I am glorified in them.

†And not for these only do I pray, but I pray also for them that shall believe on me through their words; that they also may be in Us; that all may be One, even as We—Thou, Father, in me, and I in Thee, and these in Us; that the World may believe that Thou didst send me.†³

And these things I speak, being yet in the World; that they may have my Joy fulfilled in themselves. But now I come to Thee. And I am no more in the World, but they are in the World.

Holy Father, keep them in Thy Name, even as while I was with them, I kept them in Thy name and guarded⁴ them. For now I come to Thee. And the World shall hate⁵ them, because they are not of the World, even as I am not of the World.

Yet I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the World, but that Thou shouldest guard them from the Evil One. Sanctify them in Thy Truth. Thy Word is Truth.

¹ A commentator has added, "And him whom Thou didst send, Jesus Christ." Jesus never referred to himself as Jesus Christ.

² The commentator's insertion, "I pray not for the world but" strikes a jarring note both in the rhythm of the Greek and in spirit of the prayer.

³ †† This passage (193 letters in the Greek) has been inserted in a wrong place in the compilation by the misplacement of a page.

⁴ After "guarded them" the MSS. have, "And not one of them perished but the son of perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled"—an obvious interpolation.

⁵ Reading *μισήσκει* for *ἐμίσησεν*.

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As Thou didst send me into the World, so have I sent them into the World. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in the Truth.

And the glory which Thou hast given me I have given unto them ; that they may be One, even as we are One ; I in them and Thou in me, that they may be perfected into One ; that the World may know that Thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as Thou lovedst me.

Father, these whom Thou hast given me, I will that where I am they also may be with me ; that they may behold my glory, which Thou hast given me, because Thou didst love me [before the foundation of the World].

O righteous Father, the World hath not known Thee ; but I have known Thee ; and these have known that Thou didst send me. And I have made known unto them Thy Name, and will make known ; that the love wherewith Thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them."

XXVIII. *Jesus prayeth Alone*

When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forward to a place where there was a garden, into which he entered and his disciples.

†(And he withdrew alone, about a stone's cast, and there prayed earnestly ; and the sweat poureth down from him like great drops of blood.

Then, arising from his prayer, he came to the disciples and found them sleeping : and saith, " Arise ! He that betrayeth me is nigh at hand."†¹

XXIX. *The Betrayal and Arrest of Jesus*

Now Judas, the traitor, knew that place : for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples.

¹ †† The conjectural Greek text of this passage is 195 letters in length ; and it was, I believe, from this page of RN that Luke drew the material—which he slightly embellished—for what now forms verses 41–46 of chapter xxii. of the Third Gospel. It may interest the reader to note that verses 43–44 are not found in all MSS. of the Third Gospel, and it looks as if they were inserted, like xxiv. 12, in a second draft. The incident of " the bloody sweat " (as it is commonly called) must surely have been observed by an eyewitness.

For the last sentence see Mark xiv. 42. He adds, " Let us be going." But Jesus was clearly waiting for his arrest ; and I think that this addition is a confused memory of the words spoken at the end of the Supper. (See end of Section XXIV, and Appendix II, p. 202.)

Judas then, having received the cohort ¹ and officers from the Chief Priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.

Jesus therefore, knowing the fate that was awaiting him,² went forth and said unto them, "Whom seek ye?"

They answered him, "Jesus of Nazareth."

Jesus saith unto them, "I am he." And Judas also, who was betraying him, took his stand at his side.³

(Then they that were with him, so soon as he had said, "I am he," forsook him and fell back.)⁴

Again, then, he asked them, "Whom seek ye?" and they said, "Jesus of Nazareth." Jesus answered, "I have told you that I am he. If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way."

Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it and smote the High Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. (The servant's name was Malchus.)

Then said Jesus unto Peter, "Put up thy sword into the sheath. The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

The cohort then, and the Roman tribune, and the officers of the Jews, arrested Jesus and bound him, and led him to Annas (who was father-in-law to Caiaphas): and Annas sent him bound unto Caiaphas, for it was Caiaphas who was High Priest for that year.

XXX. *Jesus is brought before Caiaphas: Peter's Denial*

Now Simon Peter was following with Jesus, and so was The Disciple.

The Disciple was known to the High Priest, and he went in with Jesus into the palace of the High Priest; but Peter stood at the door without.

The Disciple therefore went out, and spake to the maid that kept the door, and brought in Peter. As he did so, the maid

¹ The cohort. See note on Section XX.

² The fate that was awaiting him: τὰ ἐρχόμενα αὐτῷ.

³ Reading εἰσῆλκει μετ' αὐτοῦ. The Disciple corrects the tradition that Judas actually kissed Jesus. Judas was more cunning than that. He went and stood by Jesus' side, a move that his fellow-disciples might have mistaken for a loyal act. The movement was, of course, a prearranged signal.

⁴ Cf. Mark xiv. 50, "And they all left him and fled." The editor, thinking that "they" meant the soldiers, and taking the backward movement as a sign of dismay, altered κατέπεσον to ἔπεσον χαλμαί.

saith to Peter, "Surely thou art one of this man's disciples?" He saith, "I am not."

And the servants and the officers took their places, and having made a fire of coals (for it was bitter cold) they warmed themselves. And Peter was standing with them and warming himself.

The High Priest then questioned Jesus concerning his disciples and his doctrine.

Jesus answered him, "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the Temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why dost thou question me? Ask them that heard me what I have said. Behold, they know what I said to them."

And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers, who was standing at his side, struck Jesus over the mouth with the palm of his hand, saying, "Answerest the High Priest so?"

Jesus answered him, "If I have spoken ill, prove wherein the ill lieth; but if well, why smitest thou me?"

Now Simon Peter was still standing and warming himself. They then said to him,¹ "Surely thou art also one of his disciples?" He denied it and said, "I am not."

Saith one of the servants of the High Priest—a kinsman of him whose ear Peter had cut off—"Did I not see thee in the garden with him?"

Peter then denied again.

And immediately the cock crew.

XXXI. *The Trial before Caiaphas continued: Jesus replieth to the Charge of making himself the Son of God*

Now the Jews were prosecuting Jesus, and were seeking to put him to death, on this charge, that he not only used to break the Sabbath, but called God his own Father, thereby making himself equal with God.

But he answered them, "The Father worketh unceasingly,² and so also I work.

If I do not the works of the Father, believe me not: but if I do, believe also in me.

¹ Evidently Peter had betrayed himself by some involuntary exclamation or gesture when his Master was struck. An appreciation of this point is a sufficient answer to some who think that John xviii. 25-27 should follow xviii. 15-18.

² Reading ἀρρηκτι (lit. unbrokenly) for ἔως ἀπρι, i.e. God does not rest from good works on the Sabbath.

And if ye have seen the works, recognize them for what they are, that ye may know that the Father is in me, and I in the Father."

Then came the Jews round about him and continued saying unto him, "How long dost thou make trial¹ of our spirit? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly."

Jesus answered them, "I have told you and ye believe not. Many good works have I shown you from the Father. For which of them would ye stone² me?"

They answered him, "Not for a good work, but because thou, being a man, makest thyself God."

Jesus saith unto them, "Nay, but because my Word maketh no way among you: and because it is the Truth that I tell you, ye believe me not."

Everyone that is of the Truth harkeneth to my voice: but ye believe not because ye are not of the Truth. And now ye are seeking to kill me, a man who hath told you the Truth which I have heard from God.

Is it not written in your Law—and the Scripture cannot be refuted³—'I said, Ye are Gods?'⁴

If then he called them *Gods* to whom the Word of God came, say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, 'Thou blasphemest,' because I said I am *Son of God*?⁵

¶ Then said they all, "Thou art the Son of God, then?"

Jesus answered, "Ye say that I am."

And they said, "What need have we of any further testimony? For we ourselves have heard him."

Jesus saith unto them, "Now shall the Son of Man be seated at the right hand of The Power.">>⁷

¹ Reading *πειράς* for *αἰεῖς*. It is difficult to see how *αἰεῖς τὴν ψύχην ἡμῶν* can mean either "make us to doubt" or "hold us in suspense." The natural translation of those words would be "How long dost thou raise our spirit?" i.e. "encourage us."

² Jesus did not anticipate stoning; but stoning was the punishment prescribed for blasphemy by the Levitical Law. See Leviticus xxiv. 16.

³ This is ironic: "as ye say," understood.

⁴ See Psalm lxxii. 6. The verse goes on, as his accusers knew, "And all of you are children of the most High."

⁵ "Son of God," not "the Son of God": the evidence of the MSS. is clear on this point.

⁶ For the inserted verses compare Luke xxii. 69-71.

⁷ "Now shall the Son of Man," etc. Cf. Daniel vii. 13, 14: "One like the Son of Man came to the Ancient of days . . . his dominion is an everlasting dominion." Jesus said in effect, "You may kill me, but you seat me on an everlasting throne."

XXXII. *Jesus is tried by Pilate: he answereth the Charge of Blasphemy*

They therefore led Jesus from Caiaphas unto the Prætorium¹; and it was early morning. But they themselves went not into the Prætorium, so that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover.

Pilate therefore went out to them and said, "What accusation bring ye against this man?"

The Jews answered, "We have a law,² and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God."

Pilate therefore said unto them, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law."

The Jews said unto him, "It is not lawful for *us*³ to put any man to death. If he were not already judged to be guilty,⁴ we would not have delivered him up unto thee."

Pilate therefore, when he heard these words, led Jesus out from among them, and took his seat on the bench at a place called "The Pavement" (in the Hebrew *Gabbatha*): and saith unto Jesus, "Whence art thou?"⁵

But Jesus gave him no answer.

Pilate therefore saith unto him, "Speakest thou not unto me? Dost thou not know that I have power to crucify thee, and power to release thee?"

Jesus answered, "Thou couldest have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above. Therefore he that hath delivered me to thee hath the greater sin."

¹ As the Greek writer uses the Roman designation, it seems best to do so in translation. The Prætorium was what we should call "Government House": in which Pilate, like provincial Governors in modern India, both resided and transacted his official business. Pilate would seem to have seen the Jews first at the residential part of the building, and then, when he had to act formally, entered what we should call his "Court."

² "A law." Leviticus xxiv. 16, as noted above.

³ We know from Josephus that, as a fact, a death sentence imposed by a Jewish court of law required formal confirmation by the Governor, who would, in the case of an important prisoner, take care to see that it was justified. But Pilate was evidently reluctant to adjudicate a religious issue.

⁴ Reading *ἐὶ μὴ ᾗ οὖτος ἥδη αἰτιος*, on which xviii. 30, "If he were not a malefactor," is a gloss. *αἰτιος* can mean either "guilty" or "criminal." The Jews say in reply to "take him and judge him," "We have judged and condemned him."

⁵ "From whence?" was an idiomatic way of saying "Of what origin, or parentage?" Pilate is referring to the charge that Jesus claimed to be begotten of God.

But to this end was I born, and for this cause am I come into the world, that I should bear witness to the Truth."

Saith Pilate to him, "What is Truth?"

And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith to them, "I find in him no guilt at all."

XXXIII. *The Trial before Pilate continued : Jesus answereth the Charge of making himself a King*

Upon this Pilate sought to release Jesus. But the Jews cried out, saying, "If thou let this man go, thou are not Cæsar's friend. <This man maketh himself a king.> Whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar."

When Pilate, then, heard that tale,¹ he was perturbed. He therefore went back into the Prætorium and called Jesus and said to him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?"

Jesus answered, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee?"

Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the High Priest have delivered thee to me on that charge. What hast thou done?"

Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my followers have fought that I should not be delivered to the Jews. But now is my kingdom not from hence."

Pilate therefore said unto him, "Thou art a king, then?"

Jesus answered, "Thou sayest that I am a king."

Forth went out Pilate again and saith unto them, "Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no guilt in him." And when Jesus had come forth, he saith to them, "Behold, the *Man*."

When, then, the Chief Priests and deputies saw him, they cried out, saying, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

XXXIV. *Pilate scourgeth Jesus : and would release him to the Jews, but they prefer Barabbas*

Pilate therefore took Jesus and scourged him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and

¹ "Tale" (λόγος). In certain contexts λόγος means rather what we call a "yarn."

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they cast around him a purple robe and said, "Hail, King of the Jews"; and they smote him with their hands.

Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe; and Pilate saith unto the Jews, "Behold your King!"

But they cried out, "Away with him! Away with him! Crucify him!"

Pilate saith unto them, "Shall I crucify your King?"

The Chief Priests answered, "We have no king but Cæsar."

Pilate saith unto them, "Take ye him and crucify him: for I find no guilt in him."

But ye have a custom that I should release unto you one prisoner at the Passover. Will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?"

But they cried out at him, "Nay, not this man, but Barabbas."

Now Barabbas was a robber.

XXXV. *Pilate delivereth Jesus to be crucified: and writeth a Title for the Cross*

Then therefore Pilate delivered him unto them.

And he, bearing his cross, went forth into a place which is called, "The Place of a Skull" (in Hebrew *Golgotha*), where they crucified him and two others with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst. And it was the Preparation Day, about the sixth hour.

And Pilate wrote a title and put it on the cross. And the writing was **THE KING OF THE JEWS**.

This title, then, was read by many (for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh unto the city, and it was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin).

The Chief Priests of the Jews, therefore, said to Pilate, "Write not **THE KING OF THE JEWS** but that he *said*, 'I am King of the Jews.'"

Pilate answered, "What I have written, I have written."

XXXVI. *Jesus on the Cross commendeth his Mother to The Disciple's keeping*

The soldiers, then, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments and made four parts, to each soldier a part; and

THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

for his coat they cast lots. The coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.¹

Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas and Mary Magdalene.

When Jesus therefore saw his mother and The Disciple standing by, he saith unto his mother, "Woman, behold thy son."

Then saith he to The Disciple, "Behold thy mother."

And from that hour The Disciple took her unto his own home.

XXXVII. *The Death of Jesus*

After this Jesus¹ saith, "I thirst."

Now there was at hand a vessel full of vinegar.² They then set a sponge upon a spear-shaft,³ and put it to his mouth.

When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, "It is finished": and he bowed his head and breathed his last.⁴

XXXVIII. *The Burial of Jesus*

The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation Day, in order that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath (for that Sabbath was an high day) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken and they might be taken away.

Then came the soldiers and brake the legs of the first and of the other who was crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs.

And after this Joseph of Arimathæa, being a disciple of Jesus, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore and took the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, as is the manner of the Jews to bury.

Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid.

There, then, because it was the Preparation Day, they laid Jesus.

¹ For certain sentences, introduced by the compiler from P's account, which are omitted from the text of this and the following sections, see Introduction, Section 14, pp. 55, 56.

² Or raw country wine.

³ ὕσσῳ, the shaft of the Roman "pilum" (Mark's "reed"—xv. 36).

⁴ Reading ἐξεπνεύσεν, with Luke xxiii. and Mark xv. 39, for παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. See Introduction, p. 57.

XXXIX. *The Finding of the Empty Tomb*

〈Then when the Sabbath was over〉 Mary Magdalene cometh early, while it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

She runneth therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter and The Disciple, and saith unto them, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and I know not where they have laid him."

Peter therefore went forth, and The Disciple, and they set out for the sepulchre. And they ran both together, but The Disciple outran Peter and came first to the sepulchre.

And he, stooping down, seeth the linen clothes lying, yet went he not in.

Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and looketh on the linen clothes lying, and the napkin, that had been about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but apart, rolled up into one fold.

Then went in The Disciple also, and believed.

The disciples returned, therefore, to their own home.

XL. *The Vision of Mary Magdalene*

But Mary remained standing at the sepulchre, outside, weeping; and as she wept she turned and beholdeth Jesus standing there, and knew not that it was Jesus.

Jesus saith unto her, "Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?"

She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, "Sir, because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. If thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away."

Jesus saith unto her, "Mary."

She turned herself, and saith unto him in the Hebrew tongue, "Rabboni!" (That is to say, "Master.")

Jesus saith unto her, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to the Father. But go to the brethren and say unto them that I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and unto my God and your God."

Mary Magdalene cometh and telleth the disciples, "I have seen the Lord," and that he had said these words unto her.

EPILOGUE

He that beareth witness concerning these things, and hath written this story, is The Disciple, whom Jesus loved, that very one who leaned back on his breast at the Supper and said, "Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee ? "

And having seen with his own eyes he hath borne witness, and he knoweth ¹ that his witness is true.

There are many other things that Jesus did : but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have Life through His Name.

¹ See Introduction, p. 74.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHER AND THE SON

PREFACE TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHER AND THE SON

§ 1

WE are to-day familiar, as our forefathers were not, with the conception of Forces, or Laws, which, unlimited by Space and Time, are yet present everywhere and at every time ; which are a condition of being ; which cannot be apprehended by the physical senses, but only by the reason, and yet can be witnessed by those senses in their manifestations.

(The Force of Gravity, for example : we cannot see or touch it. But we can see the apple fall. And not only could the apple not fall without this force, it could not even exist. Thus the apple—the whole material universe—exists in the Force, and the Force exists in it.)

But we are less familiar with the thought that such forces combine in a higher ultimate Force, or Law, which we may call God the Creator, to make and control the world of matter.

And still less has the world even now grasped the thought that just as to this supreme Law of Creation the material universe owes its being and its order, so to one supreme Law of the Spirit we owe the existence and the order of our spiritual life ; and that the Law of Creation and the Law of the Spirit are One, He “ by whom all things were made, and without whom is not anything made that hath been made.” Yet it is this thought which, nineteen centuries ago, underlay the spiritual teaching of Jesus.

§ 2

This Law, this Supreme Spirit, is called in the Prologue “ the Word ” (Logos), but by Jesus in his public teaching “ the Father,” lest we should be in danger of regarding Him not as a personal force, but as impersonal, or at least so far beyond our finite human conception as to seem incapable of those spiritual attributes which in our human life we most reverence and esteem. In reality, so Jesus taught, so far from

being above them, He *is* Love and Truth, and the cause both that they are in us and that we can know them.

But this knowledge was so overcome, so hidden, by the forces of Evil and the darkness of despair, that the daily manifestations of the Spirit escaped man's notice and reverence. His revelation required a supreme manifestation, "the Word made Flesh." If we look for Him, He can be seen in the lives and deeds of all men who seek earnestly after God, but seen darkly and fitfully. It was needful therefore that He should be revealed in *one* man, so brightly and so fully, that we can fail to see Him only if we wilfully blind our eyes and wilfully give ourselves to Darkness.

God therefore "sent into the world His only-begotten Son"—His perfect embodiment and revelation—"that the World might be saved through him," as a "Light that lighteth every man, coming into the world." That Son lived as a man, and was seen of men; and "to all who believe on his name, he hath given power to become children of God."

The Word—not merely the Word revealed in Jesus of Nazareth, but the everlasting I AM—is the Light of the World; the Water of Life; the Living Bread; the Resurrection and the Life, the Way, the Truth and the Life; the Shepherd of the sheep, the Door of the Fold through which all must enter, if they would have Life; and the True Vine from which we spring, and in which we must abide if we would live.

The Son of God—nay, everyone to whom it is given to become a child of God—is not a free agent, for he is under the command of the Father. Yet in that service, that obedience, lies the only true freedom, the only escape from death. The life of the Spirit is at once a rebirth and a resurrection, an eternal dwelling-place in God.

Such, in very brief and inadequate outline, is "the Doctrine of the Father and the Son."

§ 3

For the view, not infrequently expressed, that John put into the mouth of Jesus not Jesus's words but his own "doctrine *about* Jesus," there is not the shadow of warrant. Not only does it suggest that the Disciple was more spiritual than his Master, but it recalls the sneer, "How hath this man letters, never having learned?" The facts that Jesus—the

greatest practical teacher ever known—spoke for the most part in parables and sayings which could be easily remembered, and that it is this aspect of his teaching which is most prominent in the Synoptic Gospels, form not the slightest ground for assuming that he had not—was, so to speak, incapable of—a deep spiritual philosophy such as St. John records for us, or again that, having it, he never chose to impart it to such of his Disciples as could grasp it.

It is true that the Prologue is “doctrine about Jesus.” It does not profess to be anything else. But it again and again recalls the words of Jesus himself; is plainly inspired by the Master’s own teaching; and is in effect a summary of it. And beautiful as the Prologue is, it lacks, for all its beauty—just as the First Epistle of St. John lacks—that peculiar savour of paradox and epigram, that vivid loveliness, which, as we know from the Synoptic Gospels also, were a feature of our Lord’s own teaching, and which meet us at every turn in the sayings that St. John records as the veritable words of his Master.

§ 4

It is in no way inconsistent with the view that the individual sayings are genuine to hold that St. John was responsible for their arrangement, just as in a modern anthology of poems and letters an editor may group together, under heads of his own choice, passages composed at wide intervals and without any idea of such grouping. The sayings must, in the nature of things, have been consciously selected from the remembered mass of the Master’s teaching in order to emphasize the vital points of one particular phase of it.

§ 5

Regarding the actual arrangement which I have conjectured, I need not repeat what was said in the General Introduction, p. 20. The sectional titles throughout are, of course, mine, and have been inserted as a guide to the reader and for ease of reference. So also are the “notes of occasion” in the Seven Admonitions, the Sevenfold I AM, and the Seven Reproofs. But I am inclined to think that in the original manuscript there were, in the case of the Seven Reproofs and Admonitions, similar notes, of which traces are preserved in John viii. 13, “Thou bearest witness of thyself,” viii. 53,

"Whom makest thou thyself?" and in the mention of a visit of Greeks to Jesus (xii. 20).

As to the "prefatory verses," the Disciple ends sections of his narrative (RN) with verses that epitomize the foregoing story; and it would be in keeping with his method that he should preface a group of sayings with one which summarizes their central theme.

§ 6

A brief word may be said about the difficulties of the compiler. Leaving aside the possibility that RD, like RN, was written in pages of which some were misplaced, it seems clear that St. John did not usually preface a discourse with the words, "Jesus said," but proceeded straightway with the discourse; with the result that it may sometimes have not been at all easy to see, when looking at the manuscript, where one discourse ended and another began. For example, "the Good Shepherd" opens with the words (x. 1), "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door . . ." though later in the discourse (verse 6) a narrative note is introduced. When the compiler had before him the manuscripts of both RN and RD—manuscripts devoid of all our modern typographical aids to the eye—it must have been very difficult for him to distinguish readily between a narrative interspersed with long discourses, and discourses interspersed with narrative notes; and this may partly account for the manner in which he amalgamated some of the discourse matter of RN with that of RD in chapters xiv. and xv.

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(See p. 233 for the Verse Index)

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Ancient Appendix to the Doctrine of the Father and the Son.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHER AND THE SON

PROLOGUE

i. *The Word*

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

The Same was in the beginning with God.

All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made.

ii. *The Light*

In Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men.

And the Light shineth in Darkness, and the Darkness overcame it not.¹

He was the true Light, that lighteth every man, coming into the World.²

iii. *The Coming of the Word*

He was in the World, and the World was made by Him: yet the World knew Him not.

He came into his own land,³ and his own folk³ received him not.

But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become Children of God⁴ who were born not in the way of the blood,⁵ nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

iv. *The Word made Flesh*

And the Word became Flesh, and dwelt among us, full of Grace and Truth.⁶

And we beheld his Glory—a glory as of the only-begotten Son of the Father.⁶

And of his fulness have we all received both Grace for Law,⁷ and Joy through Grace.

¹ "Overcame it not": οὐ κατέλαβεν; cf. John xii. 35, ἵνα μὴ σκοτία ὑμᾶς καταλάβῃ: "lest darkness overcome you." I am glad to have the support of Westcott for this rendering.

² "Coming into the World" can agree with either "Light" or "Man." It is a common point of style in some Greek authors (Æschylus, for example) to place clauses where they do double duty. Thus "the Light, by its coming into the world, lights every man that comes into the world."

³ Surely we should differentiate between "τὰ ἴδια" and "οἱ ἴδιοι."

⁴ For certain minor interpolations see Pseudo-Johannine Prologue, p. 183.

⁵ "In the way of the blood": ἐξ αἱμάτων, lit. not from blood-kindred. "Not of blood" is either meaningless or misleading. The sense is that the children of God have for their parents not their blood-relations but their spiritual Father.

⁶ S (whether accidentally or deliberately) transposed these two sentences.

⁷ "For (i.e. in place of) Law." See Appendix II.

v. *The Only-begotten Son of God*

No man hath seen God at any time.

The only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath interpreted ¹ Him.

For God so loved the World that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should have Eternal Life.

vi. *The Condemnation of those who believe not on the Son*

God sent not His Son into the World to condemn the World, but that the World might be saved through Him.

He that believeth on Him is not condemned: but he that believeth not standeth condemned by his very disbelief ² in the name of the only-begotten Son of God.

For ³ this is the condemnation—that the Light is come into the World, yet men loved the Darkness rather than the Light, because their deeds were evil: for every one that acteth meanly ⁴ hateth the Light, neither cometh to the Light, for fear that his deeds may be examined: but he that doeth the Truth cometh to the Light, that his deeds may be made clear, that they have been wrought in God.

vii. *God the Spirit*

He whom God sent speaketh the words of God: for without stint ⁵ is the endowment of the Spirit.⁶

Whosoever hath received his testimony, hath set his seal to this, that God is true.

God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in Spirit and in Truth.

¹ "He hath interpreted": ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. This is a much more vivid and comprehensive phrase than "hath declared." The Son of God hath interpreted the nature of God to us: hath been our guide to God.

² "Standeth condemned by his very disbelief": ἤδη κέκριται ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν. ἤδη means "by the very fact that": "already" conveys a wrong meaning to modern ears. Compare the discourse "the Condemnation of the Word." God does not damn men for disbelief: they are damned by their own disbelief.

³ "For": δέ. δέ surely means here "for," not "and."

⁴ φαῦλα πράσσειν—φαῦλα means something more than "ill": it suggests an underhand act.

⁵ "Without stint": lit. "not by measure."

⁶ "Is the endowment of the Spirit." It is not clear in the Greek, διδῶσιν τὸ πνεῦμα, whether "Spirit" is subject or object of the verb "give." Here again I suggest that St. John did not write so because he was careless (i.e. he failed to make his meaning clear), but in order that the phrase might do double duty. God giveth His Spirit to him whom He hath sent; he whom He hath sent giveth the Spirit to us; the Spirit bestoweth His gift on us.

THE WORDS OF JESUS

(Prefatory verse: "I in the Father, and the Father in me.")

THE WORSHIP OF THE FATHER

(Prefatory verse: "I in the Father, and the Father in me.")

" $\langle$ Ye say $\rangle$ ¹ 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain² and Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.'

The hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father.

$\langle$ Verily, verily, I say unto you, $\rangle$ the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him."

THE VOICE OF THE SON

(Prefatory verse: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.")

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour cometh and now is, when the Dead³ shall hear⁴ the voice of the Son, and they that hear shall live.

For as the Father raiseth up the Dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son also quickeneth whom He will.

And as the Father storeth Life⁵ in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to store life in himself."

¹ It is perhaps unnecessary to insert a conjectural "Ye say." For Jesus's habit appears to have been to indicate by the tone of his voice that he was quoting an opponent's argument. See note 2 on p. 125.

² The mountain is Mount Zion (not the Mount Gerizim of the Samaritans). The Jews were constantly speaking as if God had His habitation in Zion—and nowhere else (cf., for example, Psalm xlviii. 1). (I do not, of course, mean that all the Prophets and Psalmists intended that their words should be so narrowly interpreted. It is precisely against such a narrow interpretation that Jesus was speaking. But they cannot always be acquitted of it. See, e.g., Deuteronomy xii. 5.) I am inclined to think that vi. 21 was S's version of vi. 22, but it may be genuine.

³ "The dead" are the spiritually dead (cf. "the Resurrection and the Life": "Though he were dead, yet shall he live").

⁴ Or rather "shall harken to."

⁵ "Storeth life": $\zeta\omega\eta\nu\ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$. In modern English "have life" means to be alive; but the idea here is that of God as a fount or reservoir of life.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHER AND THE SON

THE FATHER AND THE SON

(Prefatory verse : "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands.")

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing : whatsoever things He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner.

For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that Himself doeth : and He hath given power unto him to do judgment, because he is the Son.

He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent him : if any man serve <the Son>, him will the Father honour."¹

THE FATHER AND I

i. *The Gift of the Father*

(Prefatory verse : "All things that the Father hath are mine.")

"All that which² the Father giveth shall come to me as heritage.³

And this is the will of the Father, that of all that which He hath given me I should lose nothing.

For that which the Father hath given me is power supreme, and none can wrest it from my grasp."

¹ The last sentence was misplaced, having been quoted as a cross-reference against xii. 26 in the form, "If any man serve *me*, him will the Father honour."

² "That which" : *πάν ὃ*. This is an unmistakable neuter, not a personal plural. Jesus is speaking of his dominion, which may include those who come to him, but includes much more than his followers. The ancient commentators, however, tended to give to this saying the narrow interpretation "all those whom," and in PD S altered it in x. 29 to "My Father, who hath given them unto me, is greater than all."

³ "Shall come to me as heritage." *πρὸς ἐμὲ ἦξει* is not to be translated as if it were simply *ἐλεύσεται*. *προσθήκειν* has the sense of "belong," come to one as a right or inheritance.

ii. *The Commandment of the Father*

(Prefatory verse : "The Father and I are one, but the Father is greater than I.")

"I can of myself do nothing : but as I am bidden,¹ for I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father, who sent me.

The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself. The Father who sent me, He hath given me commandment, what I should speak : and I know that His commandment is Life Everlasting.

Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father hath bidden me, so I speak : and the Father that dwelleth within me, He doeth my works.

The Word that ye hear is not mine, but His that sent me : and as the Father hath given me commandment, so do I."

iii. *The Condemnation of the Word*

(Prefatory verse : "The Father condemneth no man, but <the Word>.")²

"He that heareth my Word, and believeth on Him that sent me, shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from Death into Life.

If any man hear my sayings and keep them not, it is not I that condemn him ; for I came not to condemn the World, but to save the World.

He that receiveth not my sayings hath One who condemneth him : The Word which I have spoken, the Same shall condemn him."

¹ "As I am bidden" : *καθὼς ἀκούω*. The Greek verb *ἀκούειν* has often the sense of "listen to a command" and so "to obey," "be commanded."

² "The Word" (*λόγος*) must not be confused with the "words" (*λόγοι*), or "sayings" (*ρήματα*), of Jesus. The Word is the whole Divine Message, which God sent His Son into the world to deliver. The words, or sayings, are only the instrument by which that message is delivered. The Son does not condemn men with his words, but by his Word, in so far as disbelief in that Word is of itself the disbeliever's condemnation.

THE SEVEN ADMONITIONS

(Prefatory verse : " Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my Word, he shall never see Death.")

i. *The Rebirth in the Spirit*

(To a certain Ruler, who asked how he should enter into, and see, the Kingdom of God.)

" Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be reborn,¹ he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

The Ruler saith unto him, " How can a man be born again ? Can he a second time enter into his mother's womb ? "

Jesus answered, " Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be reborn of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit."

The Ruler said unto him, " How can these be recognized ? "

Jesus answered, " Art thou a teacher of Israel, and dost not recognize them ?

The Wind of Heaven² bloweth where it listeth, and thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth ; yet thou hearest the sound³ thereof.

Even so everyone that <standeth and hearkeneth to His voice>³ is reborn of the Spirit."

ii. *Earth and Heaven*

(To certain who doubted his testimony concerning the Kingdom of Heaven.)

" Verily, verily, I say unto you, when we speak that which we do know, and bear witness to that which we have seen, our testimony <ye then receive. But my testimony>⁴ ye receive not.

¹ " Reborn " : γεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν. ἀνωθεν can mean either " again " or " from above." It is difficult to reproduce the play on words in English ; but we are accustomed to use the word " reborn " in a spiritual sense.

² It is impossible to reproduce in translation the play on the meanings of πνεῦμα, wind or spirit, and φωνή, sound or voice.

³ See Appendix II, end, for remarks on the displacement of these words.

⁴ This discourse has been very mutilated by the transference of some essential matter to other contexts, and by the excision, whether deliberate or inadvertent, of a number of sentences which are so similar to those

If I had told you earthly things, would ye not then believe ? Why, then, if I tell you heavenly things, will ye not believe ?

I speak the things which I have seen <and heard>, being with the Father, <and of them do I bear witness :> but a man can receive nothing, unless it be given him, from heaven.¹

He that is of the earth, speaketh of the earth : <and he that is of the earth receiveth his testimony.>

He that cometh from above is of heaven, and what he hath seen and heard above, of this he beareth witness : and his testimony no man receiveth."

iii. *The Life Everlasting*

(To his disciples who asked if they should win eternal life.)

" Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my Word, and believeth on Him that sent me,² hath everlasting life.

And this is the will of my Father, that every one who beholdeth the Son,³ and believeth on him, shall have everlasting life.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me ² hath everlasting life."

Many therefore of his disciples, when they heard this answer, said, " This is a hard thought.³ Who can follow it ? " ⁴

When Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said, " Doth this perplex you ? ⁵

It is the Spirit that quickeneth : the Flesh profiteth nothing : it is the Spirit that is Life." ⁶

left that they may have been regarded as duplicates. I need not give the Greek here, because even in an English translation the similarity is sufficiently striking, but, as any Greek scholar will recognize, it is even more striking in the Greek.

¹ " From heaven " : ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Another instance of a clause which does double duty. A man can receive no message from heaven, unless he receive from heaven the power to receive it.

² Jesus successively identifies " Him that sent me " with " the Father," and " the Son " with " me " ; and so emphasizes the life-giving message that he brings as the Son of the Father.

³ " A hard thought " : σκληρὸς λόγος. λόγος means much more than " saying." English has no word which quite expresses it ; but it certainly here means the substance, and not the form, of what is said. We might translate " argument," were the word suitable.

⁴ " Who can follow it ? " reading ἀκολουθεῖν for ἀκούειν. See Introduction, p. 66.

⁵ " Perplex," lit. " present a stumbling-block to." The translation " offend " is very misleading to modern ears.

⁶ For the sentence, " The words that I have spoken unto you," see the end of Section viii of RN.

iv. *The Approach to the Son*

(To certain who asked if they might come to him.)

"Whosoever cometh unto me, I will in nowise cast out.

No man can come unto me, unless the Father, who hath sent me, draw him.¹

Everyone, therefore, that hath heard God's bidding² and hath understood it, cometh unto me."³

v. *The True Freedom*

(To certain slaves who asked that he should make them free.)

"If ye abide in my Word, ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, <the slave is> every man that doeth sin: <for he> is a slave of his sin.⁴

If then the Son shall make you free, ye shall be truly free."

vi. *The Vision of the Father*

(To certain who asked that he would show them the Father.)

"Ye have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape.

Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he that is from God: <he that is from God,> he hath seen the Father.⁵

If ye had known me, ye would have known the Father also: and from henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him."

¹ This saying is often misunderstood. It does not mean that a man can come to the Son only if the Father allows him to do so; but that, if a man wishes to come to the Son, he must already have heard the call of the Father; and he is therefore acceptable to the Son.

² "Hath heard God's bidding": ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. παρὰ conveys the sense of a definite call or command. "Heard of" (A.V.) and "heard from" (R.V.) are both too vague. "Θεοῦ" and not "πατρὸς," seems right here. See Section 3 of the Preface at p. 88.

³ The compiler (or some later editor) has added, "As it is written in the prophets, 'And they shall all be taught of God.'"

⁴ Reading "ὁ δοῦλός ἐστιν πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν ἁμαρτίαν: δοῦλός γάρ ἐστιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας."

⁵ "He that is from God, he hath seen the Father." In this phrase Jesus indicates the relation of his own message to that delivered by his forerunners. They revealed God to man: he revealed the Fatherhood of God. A man must first believe in the reality of God before he can understand the Fatherhood of God; and if he has believed in God, "is from God," he will recognize the truth of the message that God is the Father.

vii. *The Father's House*

(To certain Greeks who asked if they also might find a place in the Kingdom of God.)

"Let not your heart be troubled. Ye believe in God: believe also in me.

In my Father's house there are many dwelling-places.¹

If a man love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him: and we will come unto Him, and make our dwelling-place in Him."

THE SEVEN REPROOFS

(Prefatory verse: "He that hateth me, hateth the Father also.")

i. *The Word of Truth*

(It was winter, and Jesus was walking in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him and said, "By what authority speakest thou these things?")

"He that speaketh on his own authority,³ seeketh his own glory, but he that <speaketh on the authority of Him who sent him,> seeketh <not his own glory but> the glory of Him who sent him.

He that sent me is true, and I speak to the World those things that I have heard from him."

(They understood not that he spake of the Father.)

"Why do ye not understand my speech?—Even because ye cannot understand my Word. And because it is the Truth that I tell you, ye believe me not.

Which of you proveth me to be in error? And if I tell you the Truth, wherefore do ye not believe?

He that is of God hearkeneth to my sayings: ye for this reason hearken not, that ye are not of God.

And ye have not His word abiding in you; for whom He hath sent, him ye believe not. <And ye stand not in the Truth because the Truth is not in you.>⁴

¹ "Dwelling-places": *μωαλ*. In a big eastern house small rooms, generally grouped round a central courtyard, are kept for guests and travelers. We have no exact word for *μωαλ*, because we have not the same custom. "Rooms" is too general, and "quarters," which is nearer, is too technical. But one cannot help feeling that "mansions" is misleading to modern ears. In any case, we should translate the Greek word in the same way in xiv. 2 and xiv. 23.

² Cf. Mark xi. 27, 28.

³ *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ*: (speaketh) "of himself" (A.V.) is misleading, and "from himself" (R.V.) is hardly English.

⁴ Verse 44 (part) is an adaptation of this. See Pseudo-Johannine Discourses.

ii. *The Testimony of the Scriptures*

(Then said they unto him, "Wherefore should we believe thee ? ")

"Search the Scriptures ; for in them ye think that ye have eternal life. They are they which bear witness of me. Yet will ye not come to me that ye may have life.

There is Moses on whom ye have set your hope. If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me ; for he wrote of me.

But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my sayings ? "

iii. *The Glory of the Son*

(They answered, "Thou glorifiest thyself. Thy glory is nothing.")

If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is the Father who glorifieth me, of whom ye say, "He is our God" : yet have ye not known Him. But I know Him and keep His Word.

I receive not glory from men. I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him will ye receive.

How can ye believe, who receive glory from one another, yet seek not the glory that cometh from the only God ?

And I seek not mine own glory. There is One who seeketh it—and judgeth."

iv. *The Judgment of the Son*

(Then said they, "Who set thee to be a judge over us ? ")

"It is not I that accuse you.¹ There is One who accuseth you. He is true and there is no injustice in Him.

After the Flesh I judge no man. As I am bidden, I judge. So, if I judge, my judgment is true.²

I have many things to say and to judge concerning you. Yet these things I say, in order that ye may be saved. And not I alone, but I and He that sent me, even the Father."

¹ Reading *οὐκ ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ ὑμῶν*. S gave a rather different turn to the sentence. Cf. Pseudo-Johannine Discourse JJ.

² In v. 30 "just," the more natural word, is a gloss on "true." There is, by the way, no warrant for translating *δικαία* as "righteous" in such a context.

v. *Knowledge of the Father*

(They said therefore unto him, "Whom makest thou thyself? We know both thee and thy father.")

"Ye neither know me nor my Father: if ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also.

I know both whence I came and whither I go: but ye know not either whence I came or whither I go.

Ye are from beneath: I am from above. Ye are of this world: I am not of this world."

Then said they unto him, "Who art thou? And where is thy Father?"

Jesus answered, "Even the same that I said unto you, in THE BEGINNING."¹

vi. *The Witnesses of the Son*

(Then said they, "Thou bearest witness of thyself. Thy witness is not true.")

"If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. But He that beareth witness of me is other than I: and I know that the witness which He beareth of me is true.

Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness of the Truth. He was as a Lamp that burneth and shineth; and ye were willing to rejoice for a season in his light.

But I have witness greater than that of John. The Father Himself, who hath sent me, hath borne witness of me; and the works that I do bear witness of me."

vii. *The Works of the Son*

(They said therefore, "By what authority doest thou those works? What dost thou work?")

"The works that the Father hath given me to finish (those are the works that I do.)² For I do alway the things that please Him.

But ye do the works of your father."

Then said they unto him, "We have one Father, even God."

Jesus said unto them, "If God were your Father, ye would love me. For from Him I proceeded forth and am come unto you."

¹ This is a very ambiguous reply in the Greek. There is a punning reference to "THE BEGINNING" as a title of God. It requires a much longer note than I can give it here, and the full meaning could only be rendered by a long paraphrase.

² The copyist has confused two similar sentences: (i) *καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιῶ*

THE SEVENFOLD "I AM"

(Prefatory verse : " Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was I AM.")

i. *The Water of Life*

(To a certain woman whom he had asked that she should draw water at a fountain for him and his disciples.)

" Verily, verily, I say unto you, if thou knewest the gift of God and who it is that saith unto thee ' give me to drink ' thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water."

The woman saith unto him, " From whence hast thou that living water ? Art thou greater than our father ¹ <Moses, who smote the rock in the wilderness, and the water flowed abundantly> and he drank thereof himself and his children and his cattle ? "

Jesus answered, " <The fathers drank of that water and are dead ;> but whosoever cometh unto me, the water that I shall give him shall be in him a fount of water springing unto everlasting life.

And whosoever shall drink of this water shall thirst again ; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."

The woman saith unto him, " Lord, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw."

Jesus saith unto her, " If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.

<I am the Water of Life.> And he that believeth on me shall never thirst."

μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ ; (ii) αὐτὰ ἔστιν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. The words that follow the first, " that the Father hath sent me," are an interpolation. See Pseudo-Johannine Discourse MM.

¹ See Appendix III (7).

ii. *The Bread of Life*¹

(To certain who asked that he should give them bread.)

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, seek not for yourselves² the food that perisheth, but the food that endureth unto everlasting life. For on this bread³ hath the Father set his seal."

They said therefore unto him, "Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness; as it is written, 'He gave them bread from Heaven to eat.'"

Then said Jesus unto them, "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness and are dead. But the true bread of Heaven, which my Father giveth, is such that a man may eat thereof and not die."

They said therefore unto him, "Lord, give us evermore this bread."

Jesus said unto them, "The Bread of God is he that cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life to the World.

I am that Bread of Life. He that cometh unto me shall never hunger."

The Jews then murmured at him because he said, "I am the Bread from Heaven."

Jesus therefore said unto them, "Murmur not among yourselves <because I said,> 'I am that Bread of Life.'

I am the living Bread, which came down from Heaven.

If any man eat of this Bread, he shall live for ever.

And the Bread that I shall give him is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the World."

The Jews therefore argued vehemently with one another, saying, "How shall this man give us his flesh to eat?"

Jesus therefore said unto them:

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, he also shall live by me."

iii. *The Good Shepherd*

(To his disciples as they watched a shepherd leading his flock into the fold.)

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the

¹ In the compilation this discourse has been mixed up with the Pseudo-Johannine Discourse on the same subject (not to mention other material), with the result that there is considerable confusion in the text.

² Reading *ἐκζητεῖτε* for *ἐργάζεσθε*. See p. 206. ³ Reading *τούτων γὰρ ἄρτον*.

same is a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep.

To him the doorkeeper openeth, and the sheep hearken to his voice. And he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out.

When he hath put forth all his own, he goeth before them ; and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice. But a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him : for they know not the voice of strangers.

†The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep : but the hireling fleeth when he seeth the wolf coming, and abandoneth the sheep : and the wolf ravageth and scattereth them : because he is an hireling and careth not for the sheep."†¹

This parable spake Jesus unto them ; but they understood not the purpose of his saying. Jesus therefore said unto them again.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the Doorkeeper² of the sheep. In front of me³ have come thieves and robbers, but I would never hearken unto them. The thief cometh not but to steal and to ravage and to destroy ; but I am come that the sheep may have life.

I am the Door. Through me if any shall enter he shall be safe, and in safety shall come in and shall go out.

I am the Shepherd,⁴ and know my sheep, and I am known of mine. And through me they shall find pasture, and shall have it more abundantly.

I am the Good Shepherd⁵ ; for I lay down my life for my

¹ †† This passage seems clearly out of place in the MSS. ; for it is the essence of the manner in which the parable is told that Jesus first draws a picture of the shepherd, and then, when the disciples do not understand its application—and not till then—he interprets it for them.

The MSS. variants suggest that the words, "The hireling and not the shepherd, he whose own the sheep are not," are a gloss on "but the hireling fleeth," and were taken by the copyist as a correction.

² Reading ὁ θυρωρός for ἡ θύρα. Jesus takes in turn the images of the door-keeper, the door, the shepherd, and the good shepherd.

³ πρὸ ἐμοῦ must mean "before me" in point of place, not of time. No teacher was ever so insistent on the value of the work done by his predecessors. "I would never hearken" : reading οὐκ ἤκουσα ἂν αὐτῶν.

⁴ There is a curious and rather confusing alternation in the Greek between the masculine and the neuter plural (singular) of the verb ; e.g. in the sentence, ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς ταύτης· κακείνα δεῖ με ἀγάγειν, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσιν. This has led to the editor transferring the clause καὶ περισσὸν ἔχωσιν to follow ζῶν ἔχωσιν instead of νομὴν εὐρήσει.

⁵ The compiler has confused two sentences beginning respectively, "I am the Shepherd," and "I am the Good Shepherd." The MSS. variants may be studied here.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

sheep. I know my sheep, and they know me, even as the Father knoweth me and I know the Father. And I lay down my life for the sheep.

And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold. Them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice.

And there shall be one Flock, one Shepherd."

iv. *The Resurrection and the Life*

(To certain who asked that he would restore the dead to life.)

"I am the Resurrection and the Life.

He that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever believeth on me, shall never die."

v. *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*

(To one who asked, "How shall we know the way to God ?")

"I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

No man cometh unto the Father but by me."

vi. *The Light of the World*¹

(To the disciples when they were returning to the Mount of Olives as the sun was setting over Jerusalem.)

"If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, for he seeth the light: but if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because the light is not there.

Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness overcome you; for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth."

<But they understood not that saying. He saith therefore unto them again.>

"I am the Light of the World. He that followeth me shall not walk in the Darkness, but shall have the Light of Life.

I am come a Light into the World, that whosoever believeth in me, should not abide in the Darkness.

So long as I am in the World, I am the Light of the World.

Yet a little while is the Light with you.

While ye have the Light, believe in the Light, that ye may be the Children of Light."

¹ The setting is conjecture, but the words, "Yet a little while is the Light with you," suggest that the parable was spoken shortly before the Passion.

vii. *The True Vine*

(To his disciples as they passed through a vineyard where the husbandmen were pruning the vines.)

“I am the True Vine, and the Father is the husbandman.

Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, He taketh away ; and every branch that beareth fruit, He pruneth it, that it may bear yet further fruit.

Now are ye pruned through the Word which I have spoken unto you ; †and I have so trained you that ye may bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should endure.†¹

I am the Vine : ye are the branches. Abide in me.

Even as the branch cannot bear fruit in itself, but only if it abide in the vine, so cannot ye. Severed from me, ye can do nothing.

He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit.

If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch that is withered, such as men gather and cast into the fire, and they are burned.

If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, herein is the Father glorified, because ye bear much fruit.”

THE THREEFOLD PROMISE

(Prefatory verse : “Even as the Father hath sent me, so do I also send you.”)

“Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me.”

“Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also : and greater works than these shall he do.”

“Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, He will give it you.”

¹ †† This sentence seems to have been inadvertently omitted by the copyist, written in the margin, and incorporated with two other marginal notes to make our present verse 16. “Have trained you” : *ἐθῆκα ὑμᾶς*. The verb is used technically of “setting” a plant, or training a vine. But it has also the appropriate metaphorical sense.

*Ancient Appendix to the Doctrine of the Father and the Son*¹

Jesus cried and said :

"He that believeth on me, believeth not on me but on Him that sent me.

And he that beholdeth me beholdeth Him that sent me.

He that rejecteth me, <rejecteth Him that sent me :>

And he that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me."

"If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink."

¹ I believe that these sayings were not originally a part of RD, but were added at the end by some commentator, from the common stock of oral tradition, as a sort of appendix. They are prefaced by the peculiar formula: Ἰησοῦς ἔκραξεν καὶ εἶπεν. I say "peculiar," because the word ἔκραξεν is nowhere else used in the Gospel, even where it would be fairly suitable, e.g. in xi. 43, "Jesus cried with a loud voice" (the verb there is ἐκραύγασεν); and also because the verb κράζειν has usually the meaning of "scream." It is true that it is used once of John the Baptist (in i. 15, "John cried, saying"). But it is comparatively appropriate of the voice of one "Crying in the wilderness." The compiler, in my view, employed the formula in inserting verses from this appendix (vii. 37 and xii. 44, 45), adding other verses from RD in the second case, and adopted it in introducing part of "the Teaching in the Synagogue" from RN (vii. 28, 29). To the saying, "If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink," he added a note which originally ran :

"He that believeth on me <shall never thirst.>

(As the scripture hath said 'out of the heart of <the Rock he brought thee forth water' and again> 'rivers of living water shall flow out.'

But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive : for the Holy Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.")

The references in the first part of the note are perhaps to Deuteronomy viii. 15 and Zechariah xiv. 8.

The copyist inadvertently omitted parts of the note. The word which I have translated "heart" means "inner cavity." It can in certain contexts mean "belly," and is also used for "womb" in John iii. 4. But in English idiom we speak of the "heart" of a rock, "belly" having for us (as it did not for the Greeks) an unpleasant sound.

The idea of God, and Christ, as "the Rock" was familiar in ancient religious thought. Cf. Deuteronomy xxxii. 4, 1 Corinthians x. 4 and many other passages.

Though this short saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink" (an easily remembered sentence), stood in this small collection, it is really a part of "the Water of Life" (q.v.), and I am inclined to think that it appeared also in the original compilation at the end of iv. 14. Subsequently it was expunged from that place by the Diorthotes as a duplicate.

THE PSEUDO-JOHANNINE DISCOURSES

PREFACE TO THE PSEUDO-JOHANNINE DISCOURSES

§ 1

It will at once complete the sources of the Fourth Gospel, and explain, more fully than was possible in the Introduction, the method of S, if I set forth the approximate text of those passages, written by him in the margin of P, in which he made material additions to, or modifications of, his source RD.

S seems to have been mainly concerned to include as many sayings as he could within his limitations of space, but he made certain additions based on three themes :

- (i) The Manifestation of Christ's Glory by Miracles.
- (ii) The Resurrection of the Body.
- (iii) The Damnation of Unbelievers.

Of the first of these, the theme of P, it is unnecessary to say much ; but it is incredible that St. John would record Jesus as saying, " Believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me, *or else believe me on account of the works themselves.*" (xiv. 11. See end of Discourse WW(i).) The alternative is meaningless, for in the genuine sayings belief in the Son is inseparable from belief in the unity of the Father and the Son.

In regard to the Resurrection of the Dead, while it might be an overstatement to say that Jesus (according to St. John) taught that there was *not* any bodily resurrection, he clearly indicated the view that it is a matter of no moment in comparison with spiritual regeneration. " The Flesh profiteth nothing : it is the Spirit that quickeneth," and " This is life eternal, that they know Thee to be the One True God."

As for damnation, it is repeatedly said in the genuine Discourses that Jesus " Came not to condemn the world, but to save the world." Sin and disbelief are their own condemnation.

One can quite see that to a certain type of religious mind it appears essential to hold out prospects of eternal reward or punishment, if erring brethren are to be kept in the narrow path of righteousness ; and that the doctrine of Jesus, as set forth by St. John, is " too great for our small minds."

§ 2

In the texts that follow I have marked all the discourses but one with a double letter indicating that section of the Gospel of St. Philip in which S intended to include each.

The placing of the ambitious dialogue (PQ) which I have entitled "the Sons of Abraham" requires special discussion (see § 3 below), and the subject-matter also deserves comment.

There is some reason for thinking that it may be an adaptation of an older discourse from another source. For example, the reference to the bondservant (viii. 35) is very confusing in its present context. It is clearly a recollection of the story of Hagar and Ishmael, as recorded in chapter xxi. of the book of Genesis: "Cast out this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son Isaac." When the Jews say (viii. 41), "We be not born of fornication"¹ they mean, "We are not sons of a concubine, a bondwoman," i.e. "We are not Ishmaelites." But there is really no logical connection of thought between the idea (of viii. 34, 36) that the only slavery which is to be feared is the bondage of sin, and the idea that only the lawful son, and not the son of a slave, is entitled to succeed to his father's inheritance; in fact, the only real link is the word "slave." I strongly suspect that the older dialogue was concerned with the right of non-Jews to salvation, which Jesus defended and the Jews attacked: "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan?"

It may be to this older dialogue that St. Paul (who wrote long before St. John, let alone before the compilation of the Fourth Gospel) was referring in his Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 22, 31), or the dialogue may be based on the Pauline writing.

§ 3

As to the placing of this long dialogue, I believe that, though it has no essential connection of thought with those passages, it was written in the margin of Sections P and Q of the Gospel of St. Philip; and I have accordingly given it the subsidiary title PQ. In these sections, corresponding to our present chapter ix. 18-41, there was no occasion for the introduction of discourse matter, and the margin was available.

¹ The view of some that the saying was a taunt against the theory of the Virgin Birth is as erroneous as it is unpleasant.

The reason why the dialogue now *precedes* the Healing of the Blind Man is this. P's account of Jesus's teaching in the Temple at the Feast of the Dedication (section N of my text) ended with the sentence, "They therefore took up stones to cast at him. But Jesus made himself invisible, and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by." S ended his dialogue, "the Sons of Abraham," with a verse, adapted from the above: "They took up stones therefore to cast at him, but Jesus hid himself and went out of the Temple." (The MSS. of the Fourth Gospel preserve both these verses, and it may interest the reader to note that A.V. prefers the former and R.V. the latter.)

When the compiler decided, for reasons that are not quite clear, to place the miracle of the Healing of the Blind Man at the Feast of Tabernacles,¹ instead of Dedication, the Discourses OO(ii), and PQ went with it; but rather curiously the compiler gave to OO a new opening (viii. 12), which S had cited in the margin, just above OO, as a fitting comment on the restoration of sight to the blind: "I am the Light of the world."

The Pseudo-Johannine Discourses are greatly inferior both in thought and style to the genuine Discourses, but at least they have some coherent unity of thought. But in trying to preserve the matter of both, the compiler not infrequently produced a discourse which has the coherence of neither, and is full of repetition. A good example is the amalgamation of the genuine "Bread of Life" with the Pseudo-Johannine Discourse (MM) on the same subject (in chapter vi. of the Fourth Gospel).

¹ A possible reason is that there was a ceremonial lighting of lamps at the Feast of Tabernacles; and the compiler was attracted by the idea of making the miracle symbolical of the occasion.

INDEX TO THE PSEUDO-JOHANNINE DISCOURSES

(For the Verse Index, see p. 234)

Discourse	AA.	(Prologue.)
"	CC.	(The Son from Heaven.)
"	DD.	(The Living Water.)
"	GG.	(The Marvellous Works of the Son.)
"	HH.	(Moses the Accuser.)
"	JJ.	(The Judgment of the Son.)
"	KK.	(The Resurrection of them that come to the Son.)
"	MM.	(The Bread from Heaven.)
"	NN.	(Those who will not come into the Fold.)
"	OO(i).	(The Light of the World.)
"	OO(ii).	(The Witnesses of Jesus' Miracle.)
"	PQ.	(Jesus and the Sons of Abraham.)
"	SS.	(The Promise of the Resurrection.)
"	VV.	(The Visit of the Ruler.)
"	WW(i).	(Philip asks to be shown the Father.)
"	WW(ii).	(Thomas desires to know the Way.)

NOTE.—1. The titles in brackets are simply intended to show the central thought of the discourse.

2. Extracts from the genuine Discourses are in italics.

AA

(PROLOGUE) ¹

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

The Same was in the beginning with God.

All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made.

In Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men.

And the Light shineth in Darkness, and the Darkness overcame it not.

It was the true Light, that lighteth every man, coming into the World.

He was in the World, and the World was made by Him, and the World knew Him not.

He came into his own land, and his own kin received him not.

But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the children of God, even to them that believe on his name ²:

Who was born, ³ not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, a glory as of the only-begotten of a ⁴ father, full of Grace and Truth.

And of his fulness have we all received both Grace <for Law, and Joy> through Grace.

For the Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.

No man hath seen God at any time; the Only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath interpreted Him.

¹ Save for the minor interpolations below, this Prologue is Pseudo-Johannine only in its length.

² "To them that believe" is an unnecessary explanation of "To them that received Him."

³ *ὅς ἐγεννήθη*. The reading is preserved by some old MSS.

⁴ *παρὰ πατρός*. The original had, I suggest, *παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*.

CC

(Written for insertion after what is now iii. 30 : "He must increase but I must decrease.")¹

A man can receive nothing except it have been given him from heaven.

He that cometh from above is above all ; and what he hath seen and heard, of that he beareth witness.

He that hath received his witness hath set his seal to this, that God is true : for he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God.

The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand.

He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life ; but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.

DD

(Written for insertion after what is now iv. 9.)

Jesus answered and said unto her, "*If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of him and he would have given thee living water.*"

The woman saith unto him, "*Sir,² thou hast nothing to draw with and the well is deep, from whence hast thou that living water ? Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children and his cattle ?*"

Jesus answered and said unto her, "*Everyone that drinketh of this water shall thirst again. But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst, but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a fount of water springing up into eternal life.*"

The woman saith unto him, "Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come all the way hither to draw."

¹ The compiler subsequently added from R.D. portions which S had left out ; namely, part of iii. 31, iii. 32 and part of iii. 34.

It is not clear whether S intended these verses to be incorporated in the speech of John the Baptist to his disciples, or merely to serve as a commentary on the position of Jesus, as the Son, in relation to John the Baptist. In the compilation they stand as part of the speech. Commentators have, however, treated them as "reflections of the Evangelist." But in that case why not treat any and every discourse as "reflections of St. John" rather than "Words of Jesus" ?

² κύριε, or "Lord."

GG

(Written for insertion after what is now vii. 4 : " If thou doest these things show thyself to the world.")

" The Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that Himself doeth. And He will show him greater things than these, that ye may marvel."

[I have done one work and ye all marvel. Marvel not at this.]¹

" For the hour cometh when all that are in the graves shall hear the voice² of the Son of Man (God) and shall come forth—they that have done good unto the resurrection of life ; they that have acted meanly³ unto the resurrection of damnation."

HH

(Written for insertion after what is now v. 16 : " And for this cause did the Jews persecute Jesus and seek to kill him because he did these things on the Sabbath.")

Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, *" I can of myself do nothing : as I am bidden, I do : because I seek not mine own will but the will of Him that sent me."*

I receive not witness from men : but the works that I do bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me.

But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in yourselves. For *I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not.*

(But) *think not that I will accuse you to the Father : there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope.*

(For) *if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me. For he wrote of me."*

¹ The words in brackets were added by someone who took the speech to be addressed not to the brethren but to the Jews, recalling the verse in P, " I have done one work on the Sabbath day, and ye all seek to kill me." In the revision the spurious verse was left and the genuine verse " combed out."

² The MSS. read " his voice," because v. 25 (the genuine saying) was subsequently incorporated at this point. In that verse the MSS. vary between " Son of Man " and " Son of God." In it " Son " (alone) is correct. In v. 28 S may have written, " Son of God," which would accord with the theme of P. But as v. 27 has " Son of Man," he more probably wrote the latter.

³ A reminiscence of the Prologue : " Every one that acteth meanly hateth the Light."

JJ

(Written for insertion after what is now vii. 24 : " Judge not according to appearance but judge just judgment.")

" Ye judge after the flesh : <of myself> ¹ I judge not any man. <As I am bidden, I judge : > ¹ and if I judge, my judgment is <just>. ¹ For I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me.

For neither doth the Father judge any man, but ² He hath given all judgment unto the Son ; in order that all men should honour the Son, as they honour the Father.

For as the Father hath (the power of) ³ life in Himself, so hath he given to the Son to have (the power of) ³ life in himself.

And he gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man."

KK

(Written for insertion in, or near, the account of the Feeding of the Multitude, the selection of verses being suggested by the words, " A great multitude cometh unto him.")

All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me. And him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.

And this is the will of the Father that sent me, that of all that which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day.⁴

And this is the will of my Father that everyone who seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life ; and I will raise him up at the last day.

No man can come unto me unless the Father, who hath sent me, draw him ; and I will raise him up at the last day.

¹ See note on Discourse HH.

² An adaptation of " The Father judgeth no man, but the Word."

³ I have given a rendering of these words (ζῶν ἐχειν and κρῖναι ποιεῖν) different from that in the genuine Discourse, because I think that S understood them in this way, and I can only exhibit the sequence of *his* thought by doing so.

⁴ These words were suggested to S by a reference to section N, in which to a similar question, " What miracle showest thou unto us ? " Jesus answered, " Destroy ye this Temple, and I will raise it up in three days."

MM

(Written for insertion after the words—so read—“What miracle, then, doest thou, that we may see and believe on thee?”—in the account of the people asking for a sign.)

“What dost thou work? *Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness: as it is written ‘he gave them bread from Heaven to eat.’*”

Jesus therefore said unto them, “Verily, verily, I say unto you, it was not Moses that gave you that bread from Heaven, but *my Father giveth you the true bread from Heaven.*

For the bread of Heaven is he that cometh down from Heaven and giveth life unto the world.

They said therefore unto him:

“*Lord, give us evermore this bread.*”

Jesus saith unto them, “*I am the bread of life: he that cometh unto me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.*

He that eateth my flesh [and drinketh my blood]¹ hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.

This is that bread which came down from Heaven, not as *your fathers did eat manna and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.*”

NN

(Written for insertion after the words, in what is now viii. 59: “They therefore took up stones to cast at him.”)

Jesus answered them, “*The works that I do in my Father’s name, these bear witness of me.*

But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep.

My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me.² And I give unto them eternal life. And they shall never perish: neither shall any man snatch them out of my hand.

My Father who gave them is greater than all, and no man is able to snatch them out of the Father’s hand.³

I and my Father are One.”

The Jews took up stones again to stone him.

¹ These words were inserted later, after the incorporation of part of the account of the Last Supper from RN.

² A fleeting reminiscence of “the Good Shepherd.”

³ An adaptation of the genuine saying, “That which the Father hath given me is greater than all (i.e. power supreme) and no man can snatch it out of my hand (i.e. wrest it from my grasp).”

OO(i)

(Written for insertion after what is now ix. 3.)¹

Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, "*I am the Light of the World.*

He that followeth me shall not walk in Darkness but shall have the Light of Life.

When I am in the World, I am the Light of the World.

If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world.

But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.

OO(ii)

(Written for insertion after what is now ix. 15. "He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed and do see.")

The Pharisees therefore said unto him,² "Thou bearest witness of thyself. Thy witness is not true."

<He> answered and said unto them, "Even if I bear witness of myself, my witness is true."

Yea, and in your Law it is written that the witness of two men is true.

I am one that beareth witness of myself, and <he> that sent me beareth witness."

They said therefore unto him, "Where is <he> ?"

<He answered again, "I know not.">

¹ The discourse is Pseudo-Johannine only in its length, except for the following slight changes :

(i) "When" (*ōtan*) for "so long as" (*ōs ōu*). (Our translators have seen that we require "as long as," but the Greek has "when.") (The Latin *quandiu* preserves the true reading of R.D.)

(ii) The additions of "of this world" and "in him," in the last two verses, would spoil the sense in the original discourse, but are intelligible in this extract from it.

² "Him" = the blind man. See Introduction, p. 33.

PQ. JESUS AND THE SONS OF ABRAHAM

(For comments on the placing and matter of this discourse see the Preface.)

As he ¹ spake these words, many believed on Jesus.

Jesus said therefore to those Jews who believed on him, "*If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples : and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.*"

They answered unto him, " We be not born of concubinage. We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man. How sayest thou, ' Ye shall be made free ' ? "

Jesus answered them, " I know that ye are seed of Abraham. <Do ye therefore the works of Abraham.>²

Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the bondservant of sin.

And the bondservant abideth not in the house for ever, but the son abideth ever.

If then the Son shall make you free, ye shall be truly free."

<Then said Jesus unto those Jews that did not believe on him,>³ "*I speak that which I have seen with my Father : and ye also do the things which ye have heard with your father.*"

They answered and said unto him, " Abraham is our father."

Jesus said unto them, " If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham ² : but *ye do the works of your father for ye seek to kill me.*

Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and *standeth not in the truth, because there is no truth in him.*⁴ <And ye speak a lie.>⁵

Whosoever speaketh that which is a lie, speaketh out of the nature that is born in him,⁶ because his father also is a liar.⁷ Such things did not Abraham do."

¹ In the original dialogue, " he " referred to the blind man.

² The copyist has confused two similar sentences : τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ οὐκ ποιεῖτε, and τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐποιεῖτε. The MSS. variants preserve both ποιεῖτε and ἐποιεῖτε.

³ The second section of the discourse is clearly spoken to unbelievers.

⁴ An adaptation of " And ye stand not in the Truth, because there is no truth in you."

⁵ Reading καὶ ὑμεῖς λαλεῖτε ψεῦδος. ὅς ἂν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος. ὅς ἂν (for ὅταν, " when ") is preserved by some MSS.

⁶ " Out of the nature that is born in him " : ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. " (Speaketh) of his own " seems to me neither sense nor English.

⁷ " Because his father also is a liar " : ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. I fail to see how these Greek words can fairly be translated " For he is a liar and the father of it," apart from the fact that this is barely intelligible.

THE RECORD OF THE LOVED DISCIPLE

Then answered the Jews and said, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast an evil spirit?"¹

Jesus answered, "I have not an evil spirit, but I honour my Father, and ye dishonour me.

And I seek not mine own glory. There is One who seeketh and judgeth.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death."

Then said the Jews unto him, "Now we are sure that thou hast an evil spirit. Abraham is dead and the prophets: and thou sayest, 'If a man keep my word, he shall never taste of death'!"

Art thou greater than our father Abraham who is dead and the prophets who are dead? Whom makest thou thyself?"

Jesus answered, "*If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is my Father who glorifieth me, of whom ye say, 'He is our God.' Yet have ye not known Him. But I know Him, and if I should say that I know Him not, I shall be like unto you, a liar. But I know Him, and keep his Word.*

Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad."²

The Jews therefore said unto him, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?"

Jesus said unto them, "*Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am.*"

They took up stones therefore to cast at him, but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the Temple.

SS

(Written for insertion after what is now xi. 22.)

Jesus saith unto her, "Thy brother shall rise again."

Martha saith unto him, "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day."

Jesus said unto her, "*I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever believeth on me shall never die.*"

¹ It is desirable to distinguish δαιμόνιον from διαβόλον in this context. δαιμόνιον εχεις might also mean "Thou art crazy."

² Compare Epistle to the Galatians iii. 8-16; another possible link with St. Paul. See Preface.

VV

(Written, together with a version of the Cleansing of the Temple, at the beginning of the Second Scroll of P.)

Now there was a certain ruler¹ of the Jews. The same came to Jesus by night, and said unto him, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest,² unless God be with him."

Jesus answered and said unto him, "*Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.*"

The ruler saith unto him, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born again?"

Jesus answered, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.

That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.

Marvel not that I said unto thee, 'Ye must be born again.'

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth³: so is everyone⁴ that is born of the Spirit."

The ruler answered and said unto him, "How can these things be?"

Jesus answered and said unto him, "Art thou the teacher of Israel and understandest not these things?"

⁵ Verily, verily, I say unto thee, that we speak that which we do know, and bear witness of that which we have seen; and ye receive not our witness.

If I told you earthly things and ye believed not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?"

¹ "A certain ruler." For the subsequent introduction of Nicodemus, see Appendix V.

² I think that it will generally be conceded that this reference to miracles is an extraordinarily inapposite introduction to the discourse.

³ By transposing the clauses, "Hearest the sound thereof" and "Knowest not whence it cometh," S misses the whole point of this verse.

⁴ For the omission of the words, "That standeth and hearkeneth to his voice," see Appendix II.

⁵ The last two verses are quoted with certain modifications from the discourse, "Earth and Heaven." Whether the changes are deliberate or unintentional it is not easy to determine.

WW(i)

(Written for insertion after what is now xii. 18.)

Now there were certain Greeks among them that came up to worship at the Feast. They came therefore to Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying, "Sir, we would see Jesus."

Philip cometh and telleth Andrew, and again Philip and Andrew tell Jesus.

<So when they were come unto him, Jesus saith to them,>

"If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also."¹

Philip saith unto him, "Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us."

Jesus saith unto him, "Have I been so long a time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? ¹

How sayest thou, 'Show us the Father?'

Believest thou not that *I am in the Father, and the Father in me?* "

<Then saith he unto them,> "*The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself; and the Father abiding in me doeth his works.*

Believe ye me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me on account of the works themselves.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do.

And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, this will the Father do: if ye shall ask me anything in His name, I will do it."²

¹ The compiler, comparing this dialogue with the genuine discourse, "the Vision of the Father," added in the margin, "(2) He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; (1) and henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him." Where they now stand, these words rather spoil the point of the story, as told by S.

² Reading *καὶ ὁ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσει ὁ πατήρ· ἐὰν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ἐγὼ ποιήσω.*

In the first clause the copyist apparently took the marginal interpolation (from RN), *ἵνα δοξάσθῃ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ*, as a correction of *ὁ πατήρ*; and once *ὁ πατήρ* was omitted the change to *ποιήσω* was inevitable. In the second, I suggest that by a common error the letters *-ατι αὐτοῦ* were written *ατιου*, and *-ατι μου* was a natural, if mistaken, emendation.

WW(ii)

(Written for insertion after what is now viii. 24.)

<The disciples also therefore said to one another,> "What manner of saying is this that he said, 'Ye shall seek me and shall not find me, and where I go, ye cannot come?'"

Jesus therefore said, "Ye shall seek me, and, as I said unto the Jews, 'Whither I go ye cannot come,' so now I say unto you.

If it were not so, I would have told you.

Yet whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Thomas saith unto him, "Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how shall we know the way?"

Jesus saith unto him, "*I am the Way, the Truth and the Life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me.*"

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<So when they were come unto him, Jesus saith to them,>

"If ye had known me, ye would have known my Father also."¹

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Jesus therefore said, "Ye shall seek me, and, as I said unto the Jews, 'Whither I go ye cannot come,' so now I say unto you.

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Yet whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Thomas saith unto him, "Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how shall we know the way?"

Jesus saith unto him, "*I am the Way, the Truth and the Life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me.*"

LIST OF APPENDICES

- I. THE LENGTH OF PAGES IN RN.
- II. REVISION BY THE DIORTHOTES, AND ERRORS OF COPYISTS.
- III. EMENDATION OF THE GREEK TEXTS.
- IV. THE INTERPOLATION OF NOTES.
- V. NICODEMUS.
- VI. THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.
- VII. THE POETRY OF ST. JOHN.

APPENDIX I

THE LENGTH OF PAGES IN RN

It is a curious fact that a great many passages, which on entirely different grounds I believe to have been misplaced by the compiler, are of approximately the same length in Greek, namely, 180-200 letters; a length conveniently contained in a page of 11 lines of 14-19 letters each.

I reproduce a number of such passages in English, showing in brackets after each the number of Greek letters involved.

A. (xii. 25, 26.) "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that loveth his life loseth it, and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be." (184¹.)

B. (xxi. 18, 19.) "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, being yet in thine youth, thou girdest thyself and walkest whither thou wilt. But when thou art old, thou shalt stretch forth thine hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not. (This he said to him, signifying by what death he was to glorify God.)" (188.)

C. (vii. 6-8.) Then saith Jesus unto them, "Your time of trial is not yet present, but my time of trial is always at hand. The World cannot hate you, but me it hateth, because I bear witness of it that the works thereof are evil. But my time of trial is not yet completed." (192.)

D. (xv. 18-19.) "If the World hate you, know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the World, the World would love its own. But because ye are not of this World, therefore the World shall hate you.

Ye have not chosen me, nor have I chosen you . . ." (188.)

E. (xiv. 37, 38.) "For this cause was I born, and for this cause came I into the World, that I might bear witness to the Truth."

Pilate saith unto him, "What is Truth?"

And having said this he went forth again to the Jews and saith unto them, "I find no fault in him." (194.)

I venture to apply this discovery to certain passages in which—

¹ Or 187, reading *ζωογονήσει* for the simpler *φυλάξει* in "Keep it unto life eternal." See Introduction, p. 68.

again on entirely different grounds—I have suspected the loss of one or two sentences recorded by the Synoptists.

F. (vi. 64, 66, 67.) “But there are some of you that believe not.” (For he knew that there were some who by reason of this saying had no faith in him.)

Upon this many of his disciples turned back and walked with him no more.

Jesus said therefore unto the Twelve, “Do ye also (193)

G. (vi. 67–69) wish to go?”

Simon Peter answered him, “Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we believe, nay are sure, that thou art the Holy One of God.”

<So likewise say to him all the Twelve, “Do we not also> (186)

H. (xvi. 30, 32) know that thou knowest all things? By this we believe that thou camest forth from God.”

Jesus answered them, “Ye believe *now*. Behold, the hour cometh, nay is now come, when ye shall be scattered, each to his own home, and shall leave me alone. Yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.” (187.)

I. (vi. 70, 71.) <Peter saith unto him, “What is this that thou hast said? I will never be so made to stumble?”>

Jesus answered him, “Have I not chosen you Twelve? Yet even of you one is a devil.”

(He was speaking of Judas Iscariot, Simon’s son; for he it was that was minded to betray him.) (186.)

In passages G and I the missing sentences come at the end or beginning, the places where a page might most easily be frayed or torn. The loss of the last sentence of G might also result from the fact that in the text which I have conjectured the last line reads δώδεκα μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς, and the last line of F reads δώδεκα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς.

I next present four “leaves” of which two are partly, and two entirely, conjectural. Each contains in the Greek 185 to 195 letters.

J. (xvii. 1; cf. Luke xxii. 8.) Now before <the Preparation of> the Passover Jesus, knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own he loved them unto the end.

<He therefore sendeth two of the disciples into the City, saying>

K. (Cf. Luke xxii. 10–12; Mark xiv. 13–15), <“There shall meet you a man, bearing a pitcher of water. Follow him, and wherever he shall enter in, ye shall say to the goodman of the house, ‘The Master saith, Where is that guest-chamber of mine, that I may eat there this night with my disciples. A large upper chamber>

L. (John xiii. 2; cf. Luke xxii. 3) <shall be shown unto you. There make ready.”>

And when this took place, the devil having already put it into his heart to betray him, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, knowing that all things were given into his hands, went forth from thence and goeth

M. (Cf. Mark xiv. 10-11 ; Luke xxii. 4-6)

<to the Chief Priests and revealed it.

And they rejoiced, seeing a convenient opportunity to take Jesus in the absence of the multitude. And they covenanted to give him money, and to send the Cohort and Officers to take Jesus when he should depart again after the Supper.)

One can readily see how confusing a passage L would be to the compiler if J and K were missing. That L is fragmentary, I am sure. The authorized English translation obscures a very serious grammatical difficulty in the Greek. It reads, "The devil having put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him, (Jesus) knowing," etc. But the literal translation is, "The devil having put it into his heart to betray him, Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, knowing," etc. Judas is an unmistakable nominative, and the word "knowing" must agree with it as subject of the verb. The English translators cut the Gordian knot by mistranslating ; and I suggest that in the same spirit the compiler solved the difficulty of making sense of the bald "Knowing that all things were given into his hands, went forth from thence and goeth" by freely emending. He referred the verb "knowing" back to the "knowing" in passage J, where Jesus is the subject, and expanded the sentence into "Knowing that (the Father had given) all things into his hands (and that he) came forth¹ (from God) and goeth (to God)."

And lastly, I give what I conjecture to have been the original texts of (i) the Close of the Trial before Caiaphas, and (ii) the Account of the Sacrament.

N. (Cf. Luke xxiii. 70, 71, 69.)

<Then said they all, "Thou art the Son of God, then ?"

Jesus answered, "Ye say that I am."

And they said, "What need have we of any further testimony ? For we ourselves have heard (him)."

Jesus saith unto them, "Now shall the Son of Man be seated at the right hand of the Power." (195.)

O. (Cf. Luke xxii. 15-20 ; Mark xiv. 22-25.)

<After this, as they were eating, he saith unto them, "With great longing have I longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the vine until I shall drain the cup that the Father giveth me."

Then he took bread, and having given thanks, he brake it (193)

¹ The Greek verb ἐξῆλθεν can mean either *went forth* or *came forth*.

APPENDIX I

P. and gave it to them, saying, "Take, eat. This is my body which is given for you." And likewise a cup, saying, "Drink ye, for this shall be the New Covenant in my blood which is shed for you.

This do ye for ever, in remembrance of me."> (195.)

Q. (John vi. 53, 55, 56.)

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.

For my flesh is the true food, and my blood is the true drink.

He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." (196.)

Even these seventeen illustrations are not exhaustive, and I could give others. The reader may not—and indeed I can hardly expect that he should—agree with every detail of the reconstructions. But I hope that I may fairly claim to have established the main point; namely, that the accounts of certain traditional incidents in the Passion narrative, the absence of which is so perplexing a feature of the Fourth Gospel, could have been contained in a very few short leaves of the type which I have described, and that if the pages of RN were loose the compiler might have great difficulty in placing them in correct sequence.

In conclusion, I wish to make one point clear. I do not suggest that every displacement of the verses of RN can be juggled into assuming the form of a page of 180–200 Greek letters; and indeed, such a suggestion would really conflict with my theory, if a little imagination be used. I picture the compiler faced with a mass of loose leaves, some of which are consecutive and some are not. When, by stringing complete pages together, or by inserting a complete page into the narrative before him, he can produce an apparently coherent passage, he will naturally take that course. But when, as must sometimes happen, this method will not serve, he will pick out verses here and there, and place them where he can.

That I have been completely successful in solving the resulting jig-saw puzzle I do not for a moment claim. My point is to impress upon the reader that certain chapters of the Fourth Gospel do actually form a jig-saw puzzle.

APPENDIX II

REVISION OF THE COMPILATION BY THE DIORTHOTES, AND ERRORS OF COPYISTS

THE method of the compiler, I have suggested, was to write down in the margin of the text those verses which he intended to be incorporated in it ; and the resulting manuscript must have been exceedingly difficult to copy, seeing that in some places copying must have involved horizontally combining three vertical columns into one. What is more, C's work was plainly of a tentative nature, based on " the association of ideas." His insertions were somewhat in the nature of cross-references and quotations ; it would be strange if he never quoted in the margin for insertion the same verse in more than one place ; and I feel certain in my own mind that he often did so.

Let the reader try the experiment of writing out a few pages of the Fourth Gospel which mainly relate to discourses and speeches on foolscap with a broad margin, and then write down on the margin *in full* all the marginal cross-references to other verses of the Gospel. He will then have something like what I imagine some of the pages of the compilation to have been. Many verses will appear in at least two places, and some in far more.

Now, we do not, save in a few instances, find verses duplicated in the Fourth Gospel. But we find, I propose to show, traces that there were duplicates once.

I conclude that, soon after the compilation was completed, the manuscript was made over to a reviser (Diorthotes is the ancient term, and I will call him D). He had instructions to comb out duplicates ; i.e. where he found the same verse or passage occurring more than once, he was to expunge it in all places but one.

In this combing out of duplicates D was not completely successful : for example, he left both versions of " the witnesses of Jesus " (v. 31-37 and viii. 13-18).

But, further, he made more serious mistakes of two main kinds :

(1) He sometimes expunged one of two duplicate verses from the context where it really belonged, or was appropriate, and left the other where it was in the nature of a cross-reference or was inappropriate.

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(2) He sometimes expunged one of two verses which were *similar* but not identical, under the impression that they were duplicates, when really they were not, and both had appeared in the original source.

I will give two examples of the first mistake.

(a) Compare ix. 4, 5, and xi. 5 :

“ We must work the work of Him that sent me while it is day :
Night cometh when no man can work.

So long as I am in the World, I am the Light of the World.”

And :

Jesus answered, “ Are there not twelve hours in the day ?

If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the Light of the World.”

I suggest that the passages originally ran :

“ If a man walk in the day he stumbleth not, because he seeth the Light of the World.

So long as I am in the World, I am the Light of the World.”

[We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day :
Night cometh when no man can work.]

And :

Jesus answered, “ Are there not twelve hours in the day ? We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day : Night cometh when no man can work.”

[So long as I am in the World, I am the Light of the World.]

(The passages in brackets are in each case cross-references.)

(b) Compare vii. 33, 34, and xiii. 33, 34 :

Jesus therefore said, “ Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto Him that sent me.

Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me : and whither I go¹ ye cannot come.”

And :

“ Yet a little while am I with you.

Ye shall seek me, and, as I said unto the Jews, ‘ Whither I go ye cannot come,’ so now I say unto you.

A new commandment I give unto you. . . .”

These passages originally ran, I suggest :

Jesus therefore said, “ Ye shall seek me and shall not find me, and whither I go ye cannot come.”

¹ The Greek word *εγω* can mean either “ I go ” or “ I am,” according to accent. We should certainly read “ I go ” here, and not “ I am.”

[Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto Him that sent me.]

And :

"Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto Him that sent me. So now I say unto you :

[Ye shall seek me and, as I said unto the Jews, 'Whither I go ye cannot come,' so now I say unto you.]

A new commandment I give unto you. . . ."

I think that unconsciously most of us do read the second passage as if it were, "Yet a little while am I with you. . . . So now I say unto you, a new commandment I give unto you . . ."; but actually in the MSS. there is a full stop after "I say unto you," i.e. "I say unto you, as I said to the Jews, 'Whither I go ye cannot come.'"

Of the second type of error I also give two examples :

(c) Look at vi. 68-70 :

Peter answered him, "Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life : and we have believed, nay are sure, that thou art the Holy One of God."

Jesus answered them, "Have I not chosen you Twelve ? Yet even of you one is a devil."

Does not this rebuke seem very strange, very abrupt, following immediately on Peter's beautiful declaration of his faith ?

Now, the original text of this passage, as I conceive it to have been, will be found at pp. 128-129, but briefly, the rest of the Twelve confirmed Peter's words (xvi. 30-32). Jesus replied, "Ye believe *now* . . . but the hour cometh . . . that ye shall all be scattered . . . and shall leave me alone" (xvi. 31-32), whereupon Peter protested in the well-known words, "I will never be offended."

Verses 30-32 were misplaced by the compiler through causes already fully discussed, but how did Peter's words fall out of the text ?

Compare in the Greek, (i) Peter's words as I conjecture them, (ii) xvi. 1 :

(i) *ti tauta lelalêkas hêmîn ; egô ou mê skandalisthêmai.*

(ii) *tauta lelalêka hûmîn, hina mê skandalisthête.*¹

I believe that C wrote down (ii) as a sort of cross-reference—a tentative suggestion of inserting it here, though later he found a more suitable place for it. The copyist (who, like many copyists, worked mechanically) took (ii) to be a correction of (i), and wrote it instead of (i).

D, seeing that (ii) made no sense here, and finding it again in a later passage, expunged it.

¹ *τι ταῦτα λελάληκας ἡμῖν ; ἐγὼ οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῆμαι.
ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῆτε.*

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If I am right, the result is of some importance. St. John corroborates Mark to this extent, that "Peter took Jesus and began to rebuke him (Mark viii. 32) . . . and said unto him, 'Although all shall be offended, yet will not I'" (Mark xiv. 29). But he intimates that Mark, as often, was incorrect about his order (see Introduction, p. 71), and further that when Jesus made his reference to the devil, he was speaking not of Peter (though Peter may have so understood him) but of Judas (whom no one at that time suspected).

(d) I have already commented on the point that it is not clear where the discourses in chapters xv.-xvii. were spoken. Jesus apparently leaves the Supper Table at the end of chapter xiv., but does not reach the Garden till the beginning of chapter xviii. And nothing is said regarding his movements in the interval.

The Second Gospel tells us (Mark xiv. 26, 32) that Jesus first went out on to the open spaces of the Mount of Olives and then later to the enclosed Garden of Gethsemane. That is a convincing account; for Jesus, though he meant to face his arrest, would naturally wish to have a short time with his Disciples unshadowed by fear of interruption. The Fourth Gospel, however, in its present form, makes him go straight from the Supper to the Garden. There can be no doubt of this, for he is said to have crossed the brook Kedron; and since the Garden and the Mount are on the same side of the Kedron, he could not have crossed the brook from the Mount to the Garden.

Now, the Greek word ἐξῆλθεν can mean either "went out" (as in xviii. 16) or "went forward" (as in xviii. 4), and I believe that there were originally two verses:

"Jesus went out (i.e. from the Supper Chamber) and passed over (ἐπορεύθη) to the Mount of Olives across the brook Kedron"; and

"Jesus went forward to a place where there was a garden."

They were cross-quoted one against the other, so that both appeared in two places. In the first D treated "Jesus went out and passed over to the Mount of Olives" as a duplicate of viii. 1 ("Jesus went unto the Mount of Olives"); in the second he took the cross-reference as a correction, and inserted the words "across the brook Kedron."

In the original the Johannine story, though much fuller, corroborated the Marcan in this essential detail.

A last source of difficulties in the Gospel lies in the mistakes of copyists. Whether they preceded, succeeded, or were committed in the course of the compilation, it is no longer possible, or in my opinion necessary, to determine in each case.

Anyone who has had much copying work to do will know the tendency to omit lines, words, or groups of words, especially one of two similar groups of words; for the matter of that one often meets with printing mistakes of this kind.

A good example, I suggest, of a line left out owing to similarity is i. 16: "For of his fulness have we all received, and Grace for Grace." What is meant by receiving "Grace for Grace" or rather "Grace instead of Grace" (for that is the correct translation)?

Now, the Greek word *καὶ* means either "and" or "both"; and, again, the Greek word for "Grace" is *χάρις*, while for "Joy" it is *χαρὸν*. I suggest, then, that what St. John really wrote was:

*καὶ χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος
καὶ χαρὸν διὰ χάριτος*

= "both Grace for Law, and Joy through Grace," a thought sufficiently familiar to readers of the Pauline epistles. (i. 17, "For the Law was given by Moses; Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ" is an editorial comment on this true reading.)

Ancient manuscripts were frequently written with several columns to the page. If a copyist omitted a verse, or group of verses by accident, and then discovered his error, he would write it in the margin. A second copyist, taking a copy from that manuscript, might well be in doubt to which column the marginal matter properly belonged, and might place it in the wrong one. This error occurs, I believe, in the Fourth Gospel with some frequency.

I will give two examples:

(1) (Jesus therefore said,)

"Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me; and whither I go ye cannot come."

The Jews therefore said among themselves, "Whither will this man go that we shall not find him? Will he go unto the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks? What is this word that he said, 'Ye shall seek me and shall not find me: and whither I go ye cannot come'?" (vii. 34-36).

He said therefore again unto them, "I go away and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sin; whither I go ye cannot come."

The Jews therefore said, "Will he kill himself, that he saith, 'Whither I go ye cannot come'?" (viii. 21).

Can anyone reasonably doubt that those two passages originally stood together? It is easy to see how the copyist might inadvertently omit the second, and then write it in the margin.

(2) And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said (xi. 41), "Father, glorify thy name."

There came then a voice out of heaven, saying, "I have both glorified it and will glorify it again."

The multitude, therefore, that stood by, and heard it, said that it had thundered; others said, "An angel hath spoken to him."

Jesus answered and said, "This voice hath not come for my sake but for your sakes" (xii. 28, 29).

And Jesus lifted up his eyes <again> and said, "Father, I thank Thee that Thou heardest me. And I knew that Thou heardest me always : but because of the multitude which standeth round I said it, that they may believe that Thou didst send me" (xi. 41, 42).

Once more, is it possible to argue that these two passages were not originally continuous ? The copyist carelessly omitted the first of two groups of lines beginning, "And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father."

An instance of the transposition of a short sentence may be seen by referring to iii. 8 and iii. 29.

The words, "So is everyone that is born of the Spirit," seem rather obscure ; and what is meant by saying that the friend of the bridegroom "Who standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly (lit. with joy) at the voice of the bridegroom" ?

The original passages ran :

(1) "So is everyone, <that standeth and hearkeneth to His voice,> born of the Spirit."

(2) "But the friend of the bridegroom rejoiceth in the joy of the bridegroom."

The omission of the words, "That standeth and heareth His voice" in iii. 8, obscures the argument. Jesus has said, "That which is born of the Flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit," to which the Ruler replies, "How can these things be known ?"¹ Jesus answers with what in Greek is a play on words : "The wind (or spirit) bloweth where it listeth, and thou knowest not whence it cometh or whither it goeth, but thou hearest the sound (or voice) thereof." In other words, "We cannot see the wind, but we know that it is a reality, for we can hear it : we cannot see the Spirit, but we know that He is real, because we can hear His voice. So then every man who halts and listens to the voice of the Spirit is aware of the reality of the Spirit and is reborn to new life."²

¹ Reading γιν-ωσκ-εσθαι for γιν-εσθαι, i.e. how can one distinguish them from one another ?

² It is possible that S deliberately omitted the words "standeth and hearkeneth to his voice" when writing Pseudo-Johannine discourse VV ; that C wrote it in the margin ; and that the copyist inserted the sentence in the wrong verse.

APPENDIX III

ON THE EMENDATION OF THE GREEK TEXTS

THIS book has been directed to an exposition of the sources of the Fourth Gospel, and not to an elucidation of the text of individual verses, save in so far as this has a bearing on the problem which I set out to solve.

None the less, I have endeavoured throughout to give what was, in my opinion, originally written by the authors of the sources, even where the general argument is not affected, and this has involved a considerable amount of emendation. But while I have commented on the more important deviations from the accepted text, the exigencies of space, and the character of my work, forbid me to explain and defend every small correction.

It will serve the purpose better if I illustrate the *types* of error to which—as all students of classical texts are aware—all ancient copyists and editors were prone, and not least those who were responsible for the manuscripts of the Gospel. Those manuscripts differ constantly in minor details, and occasionally on major points; and it is contrary to all the canons of evidence to assume (as some eminent scholars do by implication) that, where they all happen to agree, their unanimous testimony must be accepted, even though this may involve in effect accusing the original writers of violating sense and grammar in order to defend the integrity of copyists of proved fallibility.

Even if the traditional view be accepted that the Gospel was the work of a single writer, there would be no guarantee that the first manuscript to be put into circulation (the archetype of all our surviving manuscripts) was free from slips of the pen, corresponding to our “printer’s errors.” And again, if the traditional view be accepted that the Gospel was first published in the last decade of the first century A.D., it is unlikely, having regard to the known methods whereby manuscripts were duplicated, that no errors would have crept into the text by the middle of the fourth century, the earliest date that can be assigned to any of our extant manuscripts.

How much more probable, then, is it that slips of the pen, the misapplication of corrections, the incorporation of notes, and other errors of a common kind have mutilated the text of a book

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which is itself derived from manuscript sources that may not have been themselves free from blemish and disorder when they came into the hands of the compiler?

I will not further elaborate this general argument, but proceed to examples of common errors; including, in order to illustrate the subject fully, some passages on which I have already written notes.

(1) *Haplography*.—Copyists were frequently guilty of the error known as “haplography,” that is, the writing of only one of two similar consecutive sentences or groups of words. For instance:

- iii. 11. Our testimony ye <receive but
My testimony ye> receive not.
- vii. 18. He that speaketh of himself
seeketh his own glory, but
He that <speaketh of Him that sent him>
seeketh <not his own glory but>
the glory of Him that sent him.
- iv. 22. We worship that which we know, <and we know>
that from the Jews (or the land of Judah)
is the salvation. . . .
- xix. 12. <This fellow maketh himself a king>
Everyone that maketh himself a king. . . .

(2) *The omission of one of two lines or passages beginning with similar words*.—A good instance is furnished by vi. 27. “Labour not for the meat that perisheth” is good enough English, but “Labour not for” is not a possible translation of ἐργάζεσθε. I have no doubt that there were in the compilation two passages running as follows:

- (i) ἐργάζεσθε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
λήψεσθε τὸ βρῶμα τὸ αἰώνιον
ὃ δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
- (ii) ἐκζητεῖτε μὴ τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν
ἀπολλυμένην ἀλλὰ τὴν βρῶσιν
τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,

and the copyist carelessly ran them together. The first passage explains vi. 28: τί ποιῶμεν ἵνα ἐργαζώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ.

(3) *The omission of similar letters*.—The same verse affords an illustration of this. What is meant by “For him hath the Father sealed”? “Sealed” might mean “accredited,” as an envoy, but the thought is hardly appropriate to the context. The Greek is τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφράγισεν. What the author wrote, I suggest, was τοῦτον γὰρ <ἄρτον> κ.τ.λ.: “On this bread hath the Father set his seal” (as a guarantee of its worth). Compare St. Paul’s words in Romans xv. 28: σφραγισάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν κάρπον τοῦτον: “Having set a seal on this fruit for them.”

Of a rather different order of error are efforts of the ancient editors to make sense of passages which they did not understand or which were mutilated by the mistakes of copyists.

(4) *Misunderstanding of sentences.*—x. 29 is a verse which sheds a valuable light on the process both of edition and compilation in that the MSS. of the Gospel preserve two readings :

(a) ὁ πατήρ μου ὃ δέδωκέ μοι πάντων μείζον ἐστίν = "That which my Father hath given me is greater than all."

(b) ὁ πατήρ μου ὃς δέδωκέ μοι πάντων μείζων ἐστίν = "My Father who hath given me (them) is greater than all."

With the first passage we can compare vi. 39 : ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκε μοι μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ μηδέν = "In order that of all that which he hath given me I should lose nothing." Jesus is referring to his God-given power or dominion, of which naught can rob him. The editor,¹ taking the gift to be the followers given by God to Jesus, has not only changed the Greek, but has added, on the lines of the same belief, glosses in xvii. 12 and xviii. 9, "None of *them* is lost but the Son of Perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled," and "That the saying might be fulfilled that he spake, 'Of *them* which thou gavest me I have lost none.'"

(5) *Ancient editorial attempts at emendation.*—In several passages there are signs that some editor (possibly the compiler himself) has made an emendation. For example, take xvi. 8-11, a very difficult passage as it stands. Verse 8 reads in the Greek ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως : translated by A.V., "He will reprove the World of sin and of righteousness and of judgment" (which is almost meaningless to a modern reader), and by R.V., "He will convict the World in respect of sin," etc. (which is hardly more intelligible).

Now, ἐλέγξει could in certain contexts mean "convict," but the basic meaning of ἐλέγχειν is "put to the test by cross-examination," "to show up" a person, in the modern colloquial phrase. But how can one examine a man, or the world, "in respect of judgment"? I am convinced that what St. John wrote was not καὶ περὶ κρίσεως but διακρίσει, meaning "with discernment" (true judgment); thus ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον : "He shall put the World to the test . . . περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης διακρίσει." "With discernment concerning (i.e. between) righteousness and sin"—a perfectly intelligible thought. The editor, however, read for διακρίσει (an uncommon word) διὰ κρίσει, which is bad grammar. He therefore altered this to περὶ κρίσεως. Having done this, he

¹ In my view the first person to misread this sentence was the author of the Pseudo-Johannine Discourses. But the compiler was probably responsible for the glosses. It may be observed that the reference in the first gloss to Jesus' words as *scripture* is a clear indication that it was written at a late date.

tried very unsuccessfully to make sense of it by the comment (now verses 9-11).

Concerning *sin*: because they believed not on me.

Concerning *righteousness*: because I go to my Father and ye see me no more.

Concerning *judgment*: because the Prince of this World (i.e. Death) is judged.

If the first of these explanations is plausible, the second and third only make obscurity obscurer.

The third comment is interesting, in that it is itself a misreading of a sentence in the original which was distorted by a copying error. Jesus said, so I conjecture: *νῦν δὲ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ κόσμου κέκριται · καὶ κρατεῖ ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* = "Now hath the judgment of this World been delivered (against me): and victory lies (for the moment) with the Prince of this World (Death)." The copyist omitted *καὶ κρατεῖ* either inadvertently or because he took it to be a double writing of *κέκριται*, so that the sentence read either *νῦν δὲ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ κόσμου κέκριται · ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου . . .* (?) or *νῦν δὲ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ κόσμου κέκριται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, i.e. either "Now is the judgment of this world delivered: the Prince of this World . . . (something missing)" or "Now is the judgment of this World: judged is the Prince of this World." The second reading of the sentence is preserved here in xvi. 11: the first in xii. 31, "Now is the judgment of this World: now shall the Prince of this World be cast out" (or cast down, as some MSS. read), the words "shall be cast out" being an editorial conjecture.

(6) *Amalgamation of similar sentences*.—xvi. 13 is a difficult passage as it stands: "When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come."

Why should the Comforter be said not to speak "of himself" (i.e. by his own authority)? And what here is the point, in this context, of the promise of a revelation of the future?

I suggest that there was a confusion here between three sentences with similar openings.

xvi. 14: (a) *ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἡ ὥρα, μνημονέετε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα.*

(b) *ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἡ ὥρα, μὴ μελετάτω τις τί λαλήσῃ.*

(c) *ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκεῖνος ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς.*

That is, in English:

(a) "When the hour is come, remember what I said."

(b) "When the hour is come, let no man take thought what he shall say."

(c) "When the Spirit of Truth is come, he shall guide you."

The second of these sentences continued, "For he shall not speak

of himself, but shall speak that which he is given" (τὰ διδόμενα). In fact, it is simply another version (we might almost say a variant translation of the original Aramaic) of the saying recorded by Mark xiii. 11: μηδὲ μελετᾶτε (or προμεριμνᾶτε) τί λαλήσητε ἀλλ', ὃ ἐν δόθῃ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο λαλεῖτε = "Take no thought what ye shall say, but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye."

But the copyist, or the Diorthotes, misreading the beginning of verse (b) and taking it to be a duplicate of (a), omitted it, and attached the ending to verse (c). In addition to this error he incorporated a gloss on τὰ διδόμενα, "whatsoever he shall hear"; and, as yet a third error, he changed τὰ διδόμενα (lit., the things given) to τὰ ἐρχόμενα (the things to come), utilizing, in order to complete the sentence, a verse which he found elsewhere (and which really belongs to the opening verse of the account of the Warning to the Disciples): "He revealeth the things that are to come": ἀναγγέλλει τὰ ἐρχόμενα.

(7) *Adaptation of his sources by the compiler.*—In RD there is the discourse "the Water of Life," or perhaps we should rather call it "the Fount of Living Water." The word used throughout is *πηγή*, a natural spring or fountain. When S was looking for a suitable place for the insertion of verses from this discourse, he very reasonably chose the passage in P where Jesus halted at Sychar and met the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well. In P the word used for well was the correct word for an artificially constructed well, namely, *φρέαρ*. As the account now reads: "The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep (καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ βαθύ): from whence hast thou that living water? Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well, and drank thereof himself, and his sons and his cattle?" Now, cattle would not, and could not, drink at a deep artificial well; and I call attention to Numbers xx. 11: "Moses smote the rock . . . and the water came out abundantly and the congregation drank and their cattle also."

I am convinced that in the original discourse, which is a companion, as it were, to "the Bread of Life," there was, as in the latter discourse, a reference not to Jacob but to Moses in the wilderness, and that the original was:

"Art thou greater than our father Moses, who smote the rock in the wilderness, and the water flowed abundantly and he drank thereof himself and his children and his cattle?"

APPENDIX IV

THE INTERPOLATION OF NOTES

1

THE Fourth Gospel in its present form is remarkable for its great number of explanatory notes. Some of them (which would by modern convention be enclosed in brackets) may be a part of the original text: others we should relegate to the margin or to the foot of the page, and in some cases at least they have almost certainly been introduced into the text by copyist or editor.

Of the latter I give two examples, placing in brackets matter which appears to be an incorporated note, and marking with asterisks words added in order to fit the note to the text.

vi. 22-24: "The day following, when the people which stood on the other side of the sea saw that there was none other boat there save that whereinunto his disciples were entered, and that Jesus went not with his disciples into the boat, but that his disciples were gone away alone. . . .

[Howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks.]

When the people therefore saw <and> that Jesus was not there neither his disciples

they also took shipping and came to Capernaum seeking for Jesus."

xxi. 20-21: "Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple [whom Jesus loved] following. . . .

[which also leaned on his breast at the Supper and said, 'Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?']

Peter seeing him. . . .

<and> saith to Jesus, 'Lord, and what shall this man do?' "

The style of the Gospel, whether we take R or P, is usually straightforward, and such cumbrously involved sentences are foreign to it. But if we omit the words marked with brackets and asterisks, they become quite simple.

The reason of the first note is clear. It suddenly struck the compiler or editor that there was an apparent discrepancy between two statements: (a) that the disciples had taken the only boat available; (b) that the people took boats and followed them.

The second note incorporates a cross-reference.

2

Cross-references are frequent. I give two examples :

vii. 50 : " Nicodemus saith unto them [he that came to Jesus by night] being one of them."

xviii. 13-14 : " And led him away to Caiaphas which was the High Priest that same year. [Now Caiaphas was he which gave counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.] "

The narratives are quite short, and the original writer could hardly have expected the reader to have forgotten who Nicodemus and Caiaphas were. But such superfluous marginal notes and comments are very common in ancient manuscripts.

3

There are occasional notes of interpretation or comment about Jewish customs. Some are undoubtedly part of the original text, but others are more likely to be editorial notes incorporated from the margin.

In iii. 25 we have a case where two notes seem to have been amalgamated. The authorized version, " There arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying," does not reveal the peculiarity of the Greek text : *ἐγένετο οὖν ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίου περὶ καθαρισμοῦ* = " There arose a questioning from the side of the disciples of John (i.e. John's followers raised a controversy) *with Jewish*¹ *about purification*." " With Jewish " is, I suggest, an amalgamation of two notes : (1) *μετὰ τῶν Ἰησοῦ* = with those of Jesus " ; (2) *Ἰουδαίου*, explaining *καθαρισμοῦ*. The first may have been in the original text and dropped out by a common copying error ; the second is an addition by an editor who thought that a Greek reader might not understand that " purification " meant the Jewish ceremonial.

I am inclined to think that in ii. 6 the words " After the custom of the purifying of the Jews " are similarly a gloss. A *μετρητής* (firkin) was approximately nine gallons, so that the six waterpots held together between 108 and 162 gallons. No " custom of purifying " would require so much water (incidentally, in the story the pots were *empty*). The annotator felt unhappy about attributing to Jesus the feat of manufacturing some 1,000 pints of wine for a company that had already drunk the house dry (*ὅστερησαντος οἴνου*) and tried to introduce the symbolism of purification.

4

Quotations from the Old Testament are frequent. In some cases they appear to be part of the original text (see further below).

¹ R.V. " A Jew " is not tenable. We should require *τινός*.

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But sometimes—in their present position at least—they seem to have crept in from the margin.

A curious case is xii. 38–40 :

“That the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake, ‘Lord, who hath believed our report ? And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed ?’ Therefore they could not believe. . . .

Because that Esaias said again

[He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

These things said Esaias when he saw his glory and spake of him.] ”

The note in brackets is not particularly apposite here, but would be extremely apposite at xi. 41. I believe it originally belonged to that passage and, having been quoted at xii. 38 as a cross-reference, was combed out as a duplicate in the manner described in Appendix II.

5

An instance of notes which seem very inapposite in their present place is found at xiii. 17, 18 :

“If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them. . . .

(1) I speak not of you all : I know whom I have chosen.

(2) (But) that the Scripture may be fulfilled, ‘He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.’ ”

I suggest that originally the note marked (1) was a comment on “I have chosen you ” (xv. 16), while that marked (2) was a comment on xiii. 26, “He it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it.”

6

The frequency of these interpolated notes and comments is apt to give a spurious air of similarity of style (especially in an English translation) to the two main sources of the Gospel.

APPENDIX V

NICODEMUS

The figure of Nicodemus appears three times in the Fourth Gospel :

(i) As one of the Pharisees present at a meeting of Pharisees, where he protests (vii. 50, 51) against the assumption of Jesus's guilt.

(ii) As "a man of the Pharisees, a ruler of the Jews," who came to Jesus by night, and conversed with him (iii. 1, and following verses).

(iii) As helping Joseph of Arimathæa to bury the body of Jesus (xix. 39, 40).

That the first notice is genuine I have no doubt, although the episode belongs, not (as in the compilation) to an early and informal meeting of Pharisees, but to the formal session of the Sanhedrin in Passion week, at which it was resolved to destroy Jesus.

The other two mentions are exceedingly suspicious. To take first the visit to Jesus by night : the Gospel very clearly differentiates between Pharisees and Rulers. (Cf. "Hath any of the Rulers believed on him, *or* of the Pharisees ?" (vii. 48), and "Nevertheless, even of the Rulers many believed on him, but for fear of the Pharisees they did not confess it" (xii. 42).) But in iii. 1 Nicodemus appears both as a Pharisee and a Ruler. This is, moreover, palpably a spurious verse ; for a more incongruous introduction to the beautiful discourse, "the Rebirth of the Spirit," than Nicodemus's reference to Jesus's powers as a miracle-worker can hardly be conceived.

As to the second, it is very clear, from the narrative of the Burial, that it had to be performed in great haste, before the onset of the Passover. This is corroborated by the Synoptic accounts. The women went to the Tomb with spices as soon as the Sabbath was over, and not before, because they had no time to buy them on the day of the Crucifixion, and they could not do so on the Passover Sabbath (see Mark xvi. 1). In recalling Nicodemus to the scene, the compiler overshoots the mark by making him bring the extravagant quantity of one hundred pounds weight, presumably to show that he was not niggardly.

Nicodemus has a sufficiently honourable place in history as the

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honest man who sought fair play for Jesus at considerable risk to himself. There is no good reason to suppose that he was a disciple of Jesus. He does not ask that Jesus should not be arrested and tried ; on the contrary, he suggests a trial, but a trial in which the judges shall have an open mind. But, if he were a disciple, is it not fair to think that a man of such courage would have come to Jesus openly and not by night, a detail which is surely prompted by that verse which I have cited above (xii. 42) ?

APPENDIX VI

THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE (John xviii. 28-xix. 15)

A FRIENDLY critic, on reading the first draft of this book, asked, "Why have you changed the sequence of the trial before Pilate? It is not necessary to the thesis of compilation, and personally I do not find the account in the Fourth Gospel unconvincing."

It is only fair, then, that I should explain my reasons, especially as a discussion will, I hope, throw further light on two points which are relevant to my thesis:

(i) The trustworthiness of RN as a record of events.

(ii) The length of pages in the MS. used by the compiler, and his method of dealing with disarranged pages.

I begin by asking the reader, "What did really happen at the trial of Jesus? Do the Gospel narratives throw clear light on the tactics of the Jews and the conduct of Pilate?"

2

In the *Marcan narrative* the Council (Sanhedrin) formally condemns Jesus to death for blasphemy, and then Jesus is brought (why is not made clear) before Pilate. Pilate proceeds, without any preliminary, to ask him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" Jesus curtly replies, "Thou sayest," and utterly refuses to answer the other accusations (unspecified) which are brought against him. Pilate forthwith proposes to release him as an act of clemency, but, when this appeal fails, he not only delivers him to be crucified, but causes him to be scourged, and the Roman soldiers mock him by arraying him in the purple robe and crown of thorns.

This account *Matthew* follows so closely that we need not consider his version apart from the Marcan. He makes only one alteration—in that Pilate calls the prisoner, "Jesus who is called Christ," instead of "The King of the Jews"; and two additions (the dream of Pilate's wife and the public washing of hands).

Certain questions suggest themselves:

(i) Why did the Jews formally condemn Jesus on the charge of blasphemy if they meant to charge him before Pilate only with sedition?

(ii) What prompted Pilate's question, "Art thou the King of the Jews?"

(iii) Why, when the prisoner had admitted, or at least had not specifically denied, the one charge put to him by Pilate himself, and had ignored the others, did this cynical Roman Governor declare him innocent ?

(iv) Why, having found him innocent, did Pilate propose his release as an act of *clemency* and not of elementary justice ?

(v) Why, after showing his sympathy with the prisoner, did Pilate inflict the unnecessary additional punishment of scourging ?

3

The Lucan version is, briefly, that the Jews brought Jesus before Pilate, saying that he was perverting the nation, forbidding people to pay tribute to Cæsar and calling himself "Christ, a King." Pilate puts the question, "Art thou the King of the Jews ?" and on receiving the reply, "Thou sayest," at once declares him not guilty ! He then, however, learning that he is a Galilæan, sends him to Herod, as being beyond his own jurisdiction. Herod is glad to see Jesus, but none the less, when he refuses to answer the charges, mocks and insults him, and sends him back to Pilate. Pilate, after stating plainly that neither he nor Herod finds Jesus guilty, proposes to chastise him and let him go as an act of clemency, but, on the Jews insisting, delivers him to crucifixion.

This account removes the second of the Marcan puzzles, since it makes the Jews formulate at the outset a definite charge that Jesus is calling himself a king ; and it solves the fifth by saying that Pilate did *not* scourge Jesus.

But it does not touch the first, and it intensifies the third and fourth. For it suggests that Pilate found Jesus innocent before there was any hearing of the evidence ; and it renders it still more difficult to understand why Pilate, *fortified by Herod's concurrence in his view of the charges*, should give way.

Moreover, this story introduces fresh perplexities :

(a) Why did Herod find Jesus innocent in spite of his refusal to answer the charges ?

(b) Why, if he was convinced of his innocence, did Herod treat him with degradation ?

(c) Why, if the case fell under Herod's jurisdiction, did Pilate finally decide it ?

4

As the account in the *Fourth Gospel* now stands, Pilate begins by asking the Jews what the prisoner's offence is, and they answer that he is a "malefactor" (xviii. 29-30). Pilate suggests that they should try him themselves, but they reply that they have no power to inflict the death penalty : whereupon Pilate asks Jesus, "Art thou the King of the Jews ?" and after hearing Jesus's

answer, "My Kingdom is not of this world," declares him innocent, and proposes his release as an act of clemency. When this proposal is rejected (xviii. 40) Pilate scourges Jesus, brings him forth wearing a purple robe and crown of thorns, and when the Chief Priests clamour for his crucifixion, says, "Take ye him and crucify him, for I find no fault in him" (xix. 6).

Then (for the first time apparently) the Jews bring up the charge on which Jesus had been condemned by the Sanhedrin, namely, that he called himself the Son of God (xix. 7). Pilate questions Jesus, and again proposes to release him (xix. 12). They cry out that, if Pilate lets Jesus go, he will be disloyal to Cæsar, and Pilate takes his seat on the formal bench (*bema*) at Gabbatha, and after putting the question, "Shall I crucify your King?" and receiving the reply, "We have no king but Cæsar," delivers Jesus to execution.

Now, this story does throw some light on the first of the Marcan puzzles, in that the Jews do definitely adduce the charge of blasphemy in Pilate's court. But it renews the second puzzle, for what is there in the word "malefactor" to suggest a claim to kingship? Again, while it removes the third puzzle by explaining Jesus's defence to the charge of sedition, and shows why Pilate held him innocent, it only intensifies the fourth and fifth, for it renders it still more inexplicable that Pilate should suggest clemency and not justice, or that Pilate should scourge Jesus. No threat had yet been uttered that Pilate would be regarded as disloyal himself if he let Jesus go, nor does Pilate's tone suggest that he feared the mob.

But more than this, the story raises fresh puzzles :

(1) Why, when Pilate has already said (xix. 6), "Take ye him and crucify him," do the Jews think it necessary to bring up the charge of blasphemy at all (xix. 7)? Would they not naturally hurry Jesus off at once?

(2) Why does Pilate think it necessary to examine him on this charge? He is said to have been "more afraid" when he heard it. But more afraid of what? That he would have to crucify Jesus? But he had already given the order. That he would be guilty of crucifying the Son of God? But if he was not already impressed by Jesus's personality, why should he be more impressed by the Jews' statement, not that Jesus was the Son of God, but that to call oneself the Son of God was a capital offence under their law?

(3) Why should Pilate postpone taking his seat on the *bema* until the very end of the trial?

5

I put it to the fair-minded reader that these points in the Gospel accounts, to which I have drawn attention, really are puzzles ;

and to argue that we do not ordinarily notice them is only to admit that we do not read the Gospels with that close attention which they deserve. Do the accounts present a clear picture of the conduct of the prosecution and of the judge? And do they not suggest that the writers were not quite clear in their own minds regarding the sequence of events?

If we had no means of telling what really happened, we should simply have to resign ourselves to not knowing. But if, *by simply rearranging the order of the verses in the Fourth Gospel narrative*, we can obtain an absolutely clear picture, is it unreasonable to suggest that the rearranged order is the original order of the narrative?

And with that comment I proceed to summarize the story in my reconstructed text of RN.

6

The Jews bring Jesus to Pilate, who asks what the accusation is. They reply, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die because he made himself the Son of God." Pilate answers, "Then take ye him and judge him according to your law." They thereupon urge that the case is one for Pilate to adjudicate, because they cannot inflict a death penalty. And accordingly Pilate takes his seat on the *bema*, and proceeds to examine Jesus.

(I pause here to point out that the writer is demonstrably correct in his facts. The Jewish law referred to is Leviticus xxiv. 16, and we know from Josephus also that under the Roman law the Jewish Courts had to refer any death-sentence to the Roman Governor for confirmation.)

I also put these questions, "Is it likely that the Pharisees, the leaders of Jewish nationalism, would prosecute a popular teacher on a charge of disloyalty to a hated foreign Government, so long as there was the remotest chance of inducing the Governor to confirm the sentence passed by a national court? And was there any reason beforehand to suppose that Pilate would be sufficiently interested in the case to examine the justice of that sentence? If he was a cynic, he was just as likely to be cynically indifferent to the prisoner's fate.)

To proceed with the trial, Pilate's duty (as we also know from Josephus) was to satisfy himself of the justice of the verdict. When he examined Jesus, he was at once struck by Jesus's demeanour and defence; and he declared him not guilty, and "sought to release him" (as a matter of justice, not clemency, at this stage).

It was *then* that the Jews brought forward the new charge, so fatal to their own national aspirations, that Jesus was guilty of sedition, coupling it with a barely veiled threat that, if Pilate let Jesus go, they would report him to Rome as condoning rebellion.

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Now, this put Pilate in a very awkward position. He was (as again we know from secular histories) not a trusted Governor; Jerusalem was a notoriously turbulent city; the acquittal of Jesus would very probably result in the fickle mob retaliating on the priests, and there would be "an uproar of the people"; and this would be an unpleasant crisis to tackle even without the threat that he would be reported as having caused it by his own misplaced judgment in spite of warnings. It was for himself that he was "more afraid," and (though he struggled against it) that threat was the deciding factor.

However, he examined Jesus on the charge; and Jesus made it so clear that he was not aiming at any earthly throne, that Pilate had once more to declare him innocent. He brought him out from the court (into which the Jews had not entered for fear of defilement—another touch that shows the writer's knowledge) and cried, "Behold the *man*" (i.e. no king, but an ordinary citizen); whereupon the priests clamoured for his crucifixion.

Then Pilate, mindful of that threat, tried to appease them by inflicting a lesser penalty than crucifixion. (This, by the way, is surely the origin of the Lucan modification of the Marcan story on the point of the scourging.) He caused Jesus to be scourged, and arrayed in the mockery of royal apparel. "Surely," he thought to himself, "they cannot go on pretending that there is any real danger of Jesus heading an insurrection after this farce." He brought Jesus out again and said, "Behold your King." Still the Jews clamoured for the penalty of crucifixion. And then finally Pilate, with that threat hanging over him, gives way; only making a last despairing appeal (which he must have known to be futile) that he should release Jesus as an act of clemency. Let the prisoner be considered guilty—that would save both their face and his—but let the prerogative of mercy be exercised. When this appeal inevitably fails, he says, "Take *ye* him and crucify him. For *I* find no guilt in him."

7

If this story does not impress the reader as being on the face of it the truth about Jesus's trial by Pilate, and as the account of one who, as an eyewitness, had advantages which the authors of the Synoptic Gospels did not enjoy, further argument would be unavailing. And I proceed, on the assumption that the original order of the narrative was disarranged by the compiler, to explain the reasons for the disarrangement.

The narrative covered, I believe, thirteen pages of the manuscript of RN, of the type described in a previous appendix; and I annex an English translation of them, page by page, numbered A to M.

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I also give a table showing how the order of verses in the narrative compares with the order of verses in the Gospel.

These leaves were loose ; and remember that they were not clearly printed slips, but barely decipherable manuscript. The compiler had to guess at the true order, and I suggest that very naturally *he took the Marcan version as his guide.*

If we place the verses of the Fourth Gospel in the following sequence—xviii. 28–37 (up to the words, “Thou sayest that I am a king”), xix. 4, xviii. 39–40, xix. 13, 14 (ii) (“And he saith unto the Jews, ‘Behold your King’”), xix. 15, xix. 1–6—we get an account which tallies very closely with the Marcan version. This I believe to have been the compiler’s first draft, and it consists of the pages A, C(i), B(ii), G(ii), H, I, M(ii), L(i), J, K, L(ii), M(i) ; that is, the whole of pages A, H, I, J, K, L, M, and parts of B, C, and G.

There remained the following pages, or parts of pages, which had matter to which nothing in the Marcan version corresponded—B(i), G(i), C(iii), D, E, and F. The compiler noticed that the second half of page E was almost identical with the second half of page I, and so he substituted E (now the latter part of xviii. 37 and 38) for I(ii) (now xix. 4). I(ii) he inserted in JK.

This left B(i), G(i), C(iii), D, and F to be disposed of, and he wrote them down in that order to make what are now verses 7–12 of chapter xix.

But where were they to be inserted ? Clearly at some point before the final delivery of Jesus to crucifixion ; and since page B begins, “The Jews answered,” the passage must follow a speech of Pilate.

The compiler then saw that the problem could be solved by transposing xix. 13–15 and xix. 1–6, and placing xix. 7–12 between them. He either did not notice that the transposition puts Pilate’s concluding words, “Take ye him and crucify him,” at an awkwardly early stage in the trial, or he could find no better solution, and trusted (not without reason) that the reader would not notice the point.

8

In conclusion, I may say a few words about the assumed text of these thirteen pages, which each contains 190 to 196 letters in the Greek. They are composed entirely of verses from the Fourth Gospel, with the exception of two small additions to page F:

(a) “This man maketh himself a king,” which I believe to have been omitted by a later copyist owing to its similarity to the succeeding sentence, “Whosoever maketh himself a king.”

(b) The concluding words, “Then therefore on his own account,” which might well be unintelligible to the compiler as they stood.

(He took Pilate to be more afraid because he thought that Jesus was the Son of God.)

The text also assumes three interpolations by the compiler (or possibly a later editor).

(c) xviii. 32, a palpable gloss of the "fulfilment" type.

(d) xix. 14(i): "And it was the Preparation of the Passover and about the sixth hour," the correct position of which was discussed in the General Introduction, Section 14.

(e) xviii. 37 (end): "Everyone that is of the Truth hearkeneth unto my voice," which is an interpolated cross-reference from Jesus's defence before Caiaphas. (It originally followed what is now viii. 45.)

It assumes that the compiler substituted in page K the words, "Then came Jesus forth wearing" for "They brought him forth again wearing" (*ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἕξω φορῶν* for *καὶ ἀπῆγαγον ἕξω φοροῦντα*).

This does not materially affect the length of the page (22 letters against 25); but two old MSS. preserve traces of the reading *καὶ ἀπῆγαγον*, and I call attention to the omission of a subject to the verb "saith" at the end of xix. 5, "Jesus came forth . . . and (he) saith." As the Greek stands now, the subject of "saith" would be Jesus, but if it originally read, "And they brought Jesus forth," the subject is so clearly Pilate that no noun would be necessary.

In xix. 9 and xviii. 33 the words, "Went into the judgment hall again," and "Pilate went into the judgment hall again," derive from a single original sentence which the compiler duplicated to complete xix. 7-12.

Lastly, I have assumed a few slight stylistic changes in compilation, such as: "If my kingdom were" for "If it were" (xviii. 36); "Pilate saith unto them" for "He saith" (xix. 6); and "Crucify him" for "Crucify" (xix. 15. Note that there is no "him" in xix. 6). These are points on which the MSS. often differ among themselves.

Even if a few of these changes may be thought unnecessary, I do not think that this could be reasonably held to imperil the conclusion that there were thirteen pages of about the length assumed. And since, as I can assure the reader, I had not worked out this particular passage (with the exception of the page marked E) until I received the criticism mentioned at the outset of this appendix, and I had formed my views of the correct order of the trial scene entirely on grounds of sense and probability, I cannot but plead that it affords striking confirmation of my previous calculations as to the length of pages in RN, and my estimate of the difficulties which confronted the compiler in dealing with loose pages.

APPENDIX VI

Table showing the Relationship of the Account of the Trial before Pilate, as it now stands in the Fourth Gospel, to the Original Account in RN. (Capital letters refer to the pages of RN.)

<i>Original Order of Verses</i>	<i>Present Order of Verses</i>
A. xviii. 28, 29.	A. xviii. 28, 29.
B (i). xix. 7.	B (ii). xviii. 30, 31 (ii).
(ii). xviii. 31.	C (i). xviii. 30 (ii), 32 gloss.
C (i). xviii. 30 (ii).	G (ii). xviii. 33, 34, 35 (i).
(ii). xix. 13.	H. xviii. 35 (ii), 36 (i).
(iii). xix. 9 (ii).	I (i). xviii. 36 (ii), 37 (i).
D. xix. 10, 11.	E. xviii. 37 (ii), 38.
E. xviii. 37 (ii), 38.	M (ii). xviii. 39, 40.
F. xix. 12.	J (ii). xix. 1, 2 (i) + 1 (ii).
G (i). xix. 8.	K. xix. 2 (ii), 3, 5 (i).
(ii). xviii. 33, 34, 35 (i).	I (ii). xix. 4.
H. xviii. 35 (ii), 36 (i).	J (i). xix. 5 (ii), 6 (i).
I (i). xviii. 36 (ii), 37 (i).	L (ii). xix. 6 (ii).
(ii). xix. 4.	M (i). xix. 6 (iii).
J (i). xix. 5 (ii), 6 (i).	B (i). xix. 7.
(ii). xix. 1, 2 (i).	G (i). xix. 8.
K. xix. 2 (ii), 3, 5 (i).	C (iii). xix. 9 (ii).
L (i). xix. 14 (ii), 15.	D. xix. 10, 11.
(ii). xix. 6 (ii).	F. xix. 12.
M (i). xix. 6 (iii).	C (ii). xix. 13.
(ii). xviii. 39, 40.	L (i). xix. 14 (ii), 15.

A

They therefore led Jesus from Caiaphas unto the Prætorium: and it was early morning. But they themselves went not into the Prætorium, so that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover. Pilate therefore went out to them and said, "What accusation bring ye against this man?"

B

(i) The Jews answered, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God."

(ii) Pilate therefore said unto them, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." The Jews therefore said unto him, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."

C

(i) If this man were not judged guilty, we would not have delivered him up unto thee."

(ii) Pilate therefore, when he heard these words, led Jesus out from among them, and took his seat on the bench at a place called "The Pavement" (in Hebrew *Gabbatha*) (iii), and saith unto Jesus, "Whence art thou?" But Jesus gave no answer.

D

Pilate saith therefore, "Speakest thou not unto me ? Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee and I have power to crucify thee ?" Jesus answered, "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore he that hath betrayed me hath the greater sin."

E

But to this end was I born and for this cause am I come into the world, that I should bear witness to the Truth." Pilate saith unto him, "What is Truth ?" And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews and saith to them, "I find in him no guilt at all."

F

From this point Pilate was seeking to release Jesus.

But the Jews cried out, saying, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. <This man maketh himself a king.> Whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar."

<Then therefore for his own sake>

G

(i) Pilate, when he heard that tale, was the more afraid. (ii) And he went back into the Prætorium, and called Jesus and said to him, "Art thou the King of the Jews ?" Jesus answered, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee ?" Pilate answered,

H

"Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation and the High Priest have delivered thee to me ? What hast thou done ?" Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world. Had it been of this world, then would my followers have fought that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

I

(i) But now is my kingdom not from hence." Pilate therefore said unto him, "Thou art a king, then ?" Jesus answered, "Thou sayest that I am a king."

(ii) Forth went out Pilate again, and saith unto them, "Behold I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find in him no guilt at all."

APPENDIX VI

J

(i) And they brought Jesus forth, and he saith unto them, "Behold the *Man*!" But when the Chief Priests and officers saw him, they cried out, saying, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

(ii) Pilate therefore took Jesus and scourged him. (And the soldiers, having platted

K

a crown of thorns, put it on his head, and cast around him a purple robe, and said, "Hail, King of the Jews!" And they buffeted him <and brought him forth again,> wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe.)

L

(i) And he saith unto the Jews, "Behold your King!" But they cried out, "Away with him! Away with him! Crucify him! Crucify him!"

Pilate saith unto them, "Shall I crucify your King?" The Chief Priests answered, "We have no king but Cæsar."

(ii) He saith, "Take ye him and crucify him.

M

(i) For I find in him no guilt at all.

(ii) But ye have a custom that I should release unto you one prisoner at the Passover. Will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?"

But they cried out again, saying, "Nay, not this man, but Barabbas." Now Barabbas was a robber.

APPENDIX VII

ST. JOHN'S POETICAL STANZA

IN previous appendices I have stated the view that the manuscript of RN which the Compiler used was written in pages of 11 lines of 16-18 letters. The reader may have thought this a very peculiar and arbitrary length for a page of prose, and I have myself been puzzled by it.

As a result of further investigation, I suggest that the page is really a *poetical stanza*, written in lines which, while not conforming to any classical metre, have a definite beat and rhythm. In its form this poetry bears to classical Greek metres much the same relation as the prosody of Robert Bridges' "Testament of Beauty" bears to ordinary English blank verse.

The length of line is determined not (as I had supposed) by the convenience of the copyist but by the sense and rhythm of the verse, and it varies not from 16 to 18 letters but (approximately) from 14 to 20; the average remaining at 17 letters.

I may take an illustration from "The Testament of Beauty." Its first 99 lines contain 4011 letters, representing an average line of 40-41 letters. If the poem had been written in stanzas of 11 lines, the numbers of the letters would be :

(1) 440	(4) 421	(7) 465
(2) 444	(5) 443	(8) 451
(3) 464	(6) 433	(9) 450

An average stanza would contain 445 letters. Thus the limit of variation from 421 to 465 is about 5 per cent. each way, though individual lines range from 33 to 51 letters, or a 20-per cent. variation from the norm.

The average line in St. John's poetry is a trifle over 17 letters in length, and the average stanza is 189 letters. Actually, they vary in length, so far as I have worked them out, from 182 to 196, which represents a 3-per cent. variation from the norm. This is what we should expect in a language which has far fewer compound consonants than English.

I attach by way of illustration those two stanzas of St. John's poem which related the famous command to Peter to feed the sheep. The reader may notice firstly how the division into lines clarifies

the sense, and secondly, how the rep
to aid the memory (no unimportant

Incidentally, the reconstruction s
change of the word for "love" fr
the work of some editor who, after
commentators, substituted the mo
verb ; and this view is corroborated
με."

I hope some day, if time and fur
struction of the original Greek text

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Τότε δέ, ὡς ἄρτι ἦσαν, | Then |
| 2. λέγει Σίμωνι Πέτρῳ | Saith |
| 3. ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πλέον τούτων, | Jesu |
| 4. Σίμων Ἰώνα, ἀγαπᾷς με ; | Simc |
| | me |
| 5. ἀπεκρίθη· νάι, Κύριε, | He n |
| 6. σὺ οἶδας ὅτι ἀγαπῶ σε. | Thou |
| 7. λέγει· βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου. | He s |
| 8. λέγει αὐτῷ δεύτερον· | He s |
| 9. Σίμων Ἰώνα, ἀγαπᾷς με ; | " Sim |
| | me |
| 10. ἀπεκρίθη· νάι, Κύριε, | He n |
| 11. σὺ οἶδας ὅτι ἀγαπῶ σε. | " Th |
| | |
| 1. λέγει αὐτῷ· ποίμαινε | He s |
| 2. οὖν τὰ προβάτιά μου. | Then |
| 3. λέγει αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον· | He s |
| 4. Σίμων Ἰώνα, ἀγαπᾷς με ; | " Sin |
| | me |
| 5. ἐλυπήθη δέ ὁ Πέτρος | It wa |
| 6. ὅτι ἐρωτᾷ τὸ τρίτον, | That |
| 7. ἀγαπᾷς με ; καὶ εἶπεν· | " Do |
| 8. Κύριε, πάντα σὺ οἶδας· | " Lor |
| 9. σὺ οἶδας ὅτι ἀγαπῶ σε. | Thou |
| 10. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· | Saith |
| 11. βόσκει τὰ προβάτιά μου. | " Fee |

NOTE.—The English translation above
rendering of the Greek : it is intended to in
who do not know Greek, the beat and rhy

There are two basic rhythms, on which
below :

- (1) He saith to him be shépherd.
- (2) He saith to him a sécond tíme.

APPENDIX VII

ow the repetition of dominant lines serves important point for catechists).

struction suggests that the much-debated "love" from ἀγαπᾶν to φιλεῖν was really who, after the common fashion of ancient and the more familiar for the less familiar corroborated by the words τὸ τρίτον, "ἀγαπᾶς

ne and funds permit, to publish a recon-
greek text of the poem, stanza by stanza.

Then, as they now were going,
Saith to Simon Peter
Jesus: "More than these men,
Simon, son of Jonas, dost thou love
me?"

He made answer: "Yea, Lord,
Thou knowest that I love thee."
He saith: "Feed thou my lambs."

He saith to him a second time:
"Simon, son of Jonas, dost thou love
me?"

He made answer: "Yea, Lord,
"Thou knowest that I love thee!"

He saith to him: "Be shepherd
Then unto my sheep."

He saith to him the third time:
"Simon, son of Jonas, dost thou love
me?"

It was grief to Peter
That he asketh him the third time,
"Dost thou love me?" and he said:

"Lord, thou knowest all things:
Thou knowest that I love thee."

Saith unto him Jesus:
"Feed these sheep of mine."

ation above is not offered as a good poetical
tended to indicate roughly, for English readers
beat and rhythm of the verse.

s, on which variations are played, illustrated as

herd.
d time.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE FIRST STAGE

FIRST SCROLL. <i>Chapters of P.</i>		<i>Verse Index to First Scroll.</i>	
FEAST OF TABERNACLES	A. The Baptism of Jesus	i. 19-27, 31, 15 (30), 34, 28	(A)
	B. The Call of Philip and Nathanael	i. 43-50	(CC)
	C. The Testimony of John	iii. 22-26, 28-30	(DI)
	D. The Woman of Samaria	iv. 1-9, 16-19, 25-30, 39-43	
	E. The Miracle at Cana	ii. 1-11	
	F. The Nobleman's Son	iv. 46 (end)-54	
	G. Jesus goes to Jerusalem	vii. 2-5, 8-10	(G)
	H. The Impotent Man Healed	v. 2-16	(H)
	J. The Teaching in the Temple	vii. 14, 19-27, 30	(JJ)
	J(A). Jesus returns to Galilee	vii. 1 ; iv. 45, 46 (beginning)	
FEAST OF DEDICATION	K. The Multitude Fed	vi. 1-15	(K)
	L. The Walking on the Water	vi. 16-21	(M)
	M. The Request for a Sign	vi. 22-26, 30, 36	
	M(A). Return to Cana	ii. 12	(N)
	N. { Jesus goes again to Jerusalem for Feast of Dedication	x. 22	
	Prophecies raising of his Body	ii. 23, 18-22	
	O. The Blind Man is Healed	ix. 1-3	(O)
	O(A). The Blind Man is Healed	ix. 6-15	(O)
	P. The Blind Man's Testimony	ix. 16-38	(P)
	Q. The Pharisees are Rebuked	ix. 39-41 (xii. 39-41)	
PASSOVER	Q(A) Jesus departs beyond Jordan	x. 19-21, 39-42	
	R. Jesus comes to Bethany	xi. 1-8, 11-16	
	S. The Testimony of Martha	xi. 17-22, 27-31	(SS)
	T. The Raising of Lazarus	xi. 32-40 [xii. 28-30] ; xi. 41-44	
	U. The Pharisees resolve to kill Jesus	xi. 45-47, 48 (part), 53	
	U(A). Jesus goes to Ephraim	xi. 54	
	V(i). Jesus enters Jerusalem	xi. 55-57 ; xii. 1, 9-18	WV
SECOND SCROLL. <i>Chapter of P.</i>		<i>Verse Index.</i>	
	V. (Conclusion)	ii. 24, 25	VV
	W. Jesus condemns the Pharisees for their Unbelief	vii. 11-13 vii. 31-35 [viii. 21, 22, 24] vii. 40-43 xv. 22, 24, 25 xii. 36 (end), 37-43. xx. 19-23, 24, 25	(VV ((WV)
	X. The First Appearance of the Risen Lord	xx. 26-29	
	Y. The Second Appearance	xxi. 1, 2, 13, 12 (ii)	
	Z. The Third Appearance	5, 12 (i), 13, 14	
	Epilogue	xx. 30 xxi. 25	

TABLE A.

FIRST STAGE OF COMPILATION.

<i>1st Scroll.</i>	<i>Interpolations of S.</i>	<i>Chapters of P</i> (SECOND SCROLL)
34, 28 39-43	(AA) i. 1-5, 9-14, 16-18 (CC) iii. 27, 31, 33-36 (DD) iv. 10-15, 21, 23, 24	
beginning)	(GG) v. 20 [vii. 21], 28, 29 (HH) v. 30, 34, 36, 42, 44-46 (JJ) [viii. 15, 16], v. 22, 23, 27.	Jesus does not rely on the testimony of the multitude. ii. 24, 25. Jesus condemns the Pharisees. vii. 11-13, 30-35 [viii. 21, 22, 24] vii. 40-43
	(KK) vi. 37, 39, 40, 44 (MM) vi. 27, 31-35, 58	
	(NN) x. 25-30, 31 (OOi) ix. 5 [xi. 9-10]; viii. 12 (OOii) viii. 13, 14, 17, 18 (PQ) viii. 30-39, 41, 44 } 48-58, 59 }	
; xi. 41-44 53	(SS) xi. 23-26	
18	WW(i) xii. 20-22 } xiv. 7-14 }	[xv. 22, 24, 25] xii. 36-43
r.	<i>Interpolations of S.</i>	
	VVii. 14-17 (Cleansing of the Temple) VViii. 1-14 (Visit of the Ruler) (WWii) vii. 36 [xiii. 33; xiv. 2, 4-6]	

THE WORK OF S AS T UNDERSTOOD IT.

<i>Main Narrative</i> (showing its course by localities).	<i>Verse Index.</i>	<i>Discourse matter already inserted by S in the account of the Feasts at Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Matter of the S Scroll, all relating to a Feast at Jerusalem, which is believed that he intended to insert.</i>
1. Prologue 2. Jordan	i. 1-5, 9-18 i. 19-27, 31, 34, 28, 43-50		24. ii. 14-17 (Concerning the Building of Temple)
3. Judæa 4. Samaria 5. Galilee (1st miracle) 6. Galilee (2nd miracle)	iii. 22-31, 33-36 iv. 1-19, 21, 23-30, 39-43 ii. 1-11 iv. 46 (end) -54		25. ii. 24-25 26. iii. 1-14 (Verbal Ruler) 27. vii. 11-13
7. To Jerusalem (TABERNACLES)	vii. 2-5, 8-10	(TABERNACLES) GG, v. 20; vii. 21, 28, 29	28. φ vii. 31-34 WW(ii). vii. 36
8. At Jerusalem (Impotent Man)	v. 2-16	HH, v. 30, 34, 36, 42, 44, 46	33; xiv. 2, 4-6
9. At Jerusalem (In the Temple)	vii. 14, 19-27, 30	JJ, viii. 15-16; v. 22, 23, 27	29. φ [xiii. 21, 22] 30. vii. 40-43
10. Return to Galilee	vii. i; iv. 45, 46 (beginning)		31. φ [xv. 22, 23] 32. xii. 36 (end of 43)
11. Across Sea of Galilee	vi. 1-15		
12. Return to Capernaum	vi. 16-21		
13. At Capernaum	vi. 22-26		
14. (Discourse KK, MM)	vi. 27, 30-37, 39, 40, 44, 58		
15. Return to Cana	ii. 12		
16. Up to Jerusalem (DEDICATION)	x. 22 (v. i)	(DEDICATION) NN, x. 25-30	
17. (Prophecies raising of his Body)	ii. 23, 18-22; x. 31	ix. 5; xi. 9-10; viii. 2	
18. (Healing of Blind Man)	ix. 1-3; ix. 6-41 [xii. 39-41]; x. 19-21	OO, viii. 13, 14, 17, 18 PQ, viii. 30-39, 41, 44, 45-58, 59 (ii)	
19. To Trans-Jordania	x. 39-42		
20. Up to Bethany (Raising of Lazarus)	xi. 1-8, 11-40 [xii. 28-30] xi. 41-44		
21. (The Pharisees Resolve)	xi. 45-47, 48, 53		
22. To Ephraim	xi. 54		
23. To Jerusalem (PASSOVER)	xi. 55-57; xii. 1, 9-18	(PASSOVER) WW(i) xii. 20-22; xiv. 7-14	

TABLE B.

the Second II relating Feast at , which T at he had insert.	T's REVISION. T's Revision (Narrative by localities).	Verse Index.
17 (Cleans- Temple) 25 14 (Visit of 1-13 31-35 ii. 36 [xiii. 2, 4-6] 21, 22, 24] -43 22, 24, 25] 3 (end), 37-	i. Prologue ii. (2) Jordan iii. (5) Galilee iv. (15) (To Capernaum and back to Cana) v. (*) Up to Jerusalem (FIRST PASSOVER) vi. (24) (Cleansing Temple) vii. (26) (Visit of the Ruler) viii. (3) Judæa ix. (4) Samaria x. (10) Galilee (6) (2nd Miracle) xi. (*) Up to Jerusalem (SECOND FEAST) xii. (8) (Impotent Man) xiii. Discourses GG, HH, JJ xiv. (11) Across Sea of Galilee xv. (12) Return to Capernaum xvi. (13) At Capernaum xvii. (14) Discourses KK, MM xviii. (10, 16, 27) To J'm. (TABERNACLES) xix. (9) (In the Temple) xx. (28) Discourses Discourses WW(ii) (29) Discourses xxi. (30) (The People's Com- ments) xxii. Discourses OO, PQ xxiii. (18) (Healing of the Blind Man) xxiv. (16) Jerusalem (DEDICATION) xxv. (17) (Prophecies raising his Body) xxvi. Discourse NN xxvii. (19) To Transjordan xxviii. (20) Up to Bethany (Lazarus) xxix. (21) The Pharisees Resolve xxx. (22) Escape to Ephraim xxxi. (23) To Jerusalem (PASSOVER) xxxii. Discourse WW(i) xxxiii. (32) Unbelief of the Phari- sees xxxiv. (31) Condemnation of Pharisees	i. 1-5, 9-18 i. 19-27, 31, 34, 28, 43-50 ii. 1-11 ii. 12 ii. 13* ii. 14-17 (25); ii. 24, 25 iii. 1-12 iii. 22-31, 33-36 iv. 1-19, 21, 23-30, 39-43 iv. 45, 46 (beginning) iv. 46 (end)-54 v. 1 v. 2-16 vi. 1-15 vi. 16-21 vi. 22-26 vi. 30-58 (parts) vii. 1, 2-5, 8-10, 11-13 vii. 14, 19-27, 30 vii. 31-35 vii. 36 [xiii. 33; xiv. 2, 4-6] [viii. 21, 22, 24] vii. 40-43 viii. 13-18, 30-59 (parts) ix. 1-3, 5-41 [xii. 39-41] x. 19-21 xi. 22 iv. 18-22 x. 25-30, 31 x. 39-42 xi. 1-8, 11-40 [xii. 28-30], xi. 41-44 xi. 45-47, 48, 53 xi. 54 xi. 55-57; xii. 1, 9-18 xii. 20-22; xiv. 7-14 xii. 36 (end), 37-43 xv. 22, 24, 25



VERSE INDEX TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

In this index

P = Gospel of St. Philip.

RN = The Story of the Disciple.

RD = The Doctrine of the Father and the Son.

PD = The Pseudo-Johannine Discourses.

G = Gloss.

CA = Compiler's addition.

RD(S) = A verse of RD slightly altered by S in compilation.

RN(C) = A verse of RN slightly altered by C in compilation.

When a verse is shown thus—(i) RD, (ii) RD—it means that both parts of the verse are derived from RD but from different discourses. Such a sign as RD(PD) indicates that the verse is derived from RD with slight accretions from PD, and is common to both RD and PD.

RD + P means that a verse is common to two sources, but the exact form in which it appeared in each is uncertain.

<i>Chapter i.</i>	
1-5	RD
6-8	RN
9-14	RD
15	RN(C)
16	RD
17	PD
18	RD
19 (i)	RN
(ii)	P
20-28	P
29	RN
30	P
31-33	RN
34	P
35-42	RN
43-50	P
51	RN(C)

<i>Chapter ii.</i>	
1-12	P
13-16	RN
17	P
18-22	P
23-25	P

<i>Chapter iii.</i>	
1-2	PD
4-6	RD(PD)
7	PD

8-12	RD(PD)
13-15	RN
16-21	RD
22-26	P
27	RD(PD)
28-30	P
31-35	RD(PD)
32	RD
33-35	RD(PD)
36 (i)	RD(PD)
(ii)	PD

<i>Chapter iv.</i>	
1	P(RN)
2	RN(C)
3-7	P
8	RN(C)
9	P
10-15	RD(S)
16-19	P
20	RN
21	RD(S)
22	RN
23-24	RD
25-26	P
27	P(C)
28-30	P
31	RN(C)
32-34	RN
35-38	RN

39-42	P
43	P
44	RN(C)
45	P
46 (i)	P
46 (ii)	P
47-54	P

<i>Chapter v.</i>	
1	CA
2-16	P
17-18	RN(C)
19	RD(C)
20	RD(PD)
21	RD
22	RD(PD)
23 (i)	PD
(ii)	RD(PD)
24-26	RD(C)
27	RD(PD)
28-29	PD
30	RD(PD)
31-33	RD
34 (i)	PD
(ii)	RD
35	RD
36 (i)	RD
(ii)	RD(PD)
37 (i)	RD
(ii)	RD

VERSE INDEX TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

38-41 RD
42 PD
43 RD
44 RD
45 RD(PD)
46 RD(PD)
47 RD

Chapter vi.

1-14 P
15 RN(P)
16-22 P
23 G
24-26 P
27 RD(C)
28-29 RN
30 P
31 RD(PD)
32 PD
33 RD(PD)
34-35 RD(PD)
36 P
37 RD(PD)
38 RN
39-40 RD(PD)
41 RN(RD)
42 RN
43 RD
44 RD(PD)
45 (i) G
(ii) RD
46 RD
47 RD
48-52 RD
53 RN
54 PD(C)
55-56 RN
57 RD
58 PD
59 RN
60 RD
61 RD(RN)
62 RN
63 RN + RD
64 RN(C)
65 G
66-71 RN

Chapter vii.

1-4 P
5 G
6 P(C) RN(C)
7 RN
8 (i) P
(ii) P(RN)

9-14 P
15-17 RN(C)
18 (i) RD
(ii) RD
19-20 P
21 PD(C)
22-27 P
28-29 RN(C)
30-31 P
32 (i) P
(ii) RN
33 RN(C)
34 P
35 P(C)
36 PD
37 RD(A)(C)
(A = Appendix
to RD)

38-39 G
40-43 P
44 RN(C)
45-49 RN
50 RN(C)
51-53 RN

Chapter viii.

1-11 RN
12 RD(C)
13 PD
14 (i) PD(C)
(ii) RD
15 RD(PD)
16 RD(PD)
17-18 PD(C)
19 (i) RD(C)
(ii) RD
20 (i) RN
(ii) G
21-22 P
23 RD
24 P(C)
25 RD(C)
26 (i) RD
(ii) RD
27 RD
28 (i) RN
(ii) RD
29 (i) G (from RN)
(ii) RD
30-31 (i) PD
31 (ii) RD(PD)
32 RD(PD)
33 PD
34 RD(PD)
35 PD
36 RD(PD)

37 (i) PD
(ii) RN(C)
38 (i) RD(PD)
(ii) PD
39 PD
40 (i) RN
(ii) G
41 RD (PD)
42 (i) RD
(ii) G
43 RD
44 PD
45-47 RD
48-49 PD
50-51 RD(PD)
52-53 PD
54 RD(PD)
55-57 PD
58 RD(PD)
59 P(PD)

Chapter ix.

1-3 P
4 RN
5 RD
6-41 P

Chapter x.

1-16 RD
17-18 RN
19-22 P
23 (i) P
(ii) RD
24 RN
25 RN(C)
26-28 PD
29 RD(PD)
30 RD(PD)
31 PD
32-36 RN
37-38 RN(C)
39-42 P

Chapter xi.

1 P
2 G
3-8 P
9 (i) RN
(ii) RD(C)
10 RD(C)
11 P(C)
12-16 P
17-22 P
23-24 PD

VERSE INDEX TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

25-26 RD(S)
27-46 P
47 P(RN)
48 RN(P)(C)
49-52 RN
53 P + RN
54-57 P

Chapter xii.

1-2 RN(P)(C)
3-8 RN
9-11 P
12-13 P + RN
14-16 P
17-18 P
19 RN(C)
20-22 PD
23-26 RN
26 (i) RN
(ii) RN(RD)
27 RN
28-30 P
31 CA (from RN)
32-33 RN
34 RN(C)
35 RD(PD)
36 (i) RD
(ii) RN + P
37-43 P
44-45 RD(App.)(C)
46 RD
47-48 (i) RD (App. RD)
(ii) RD
49-50 RD

Chapter xiii.

1 RN
2-3 RN(C)
4-6 RN
7 RN(C)
8-9 RN
10-11 G
12-15 RN
16 RN
17 RN
18 G
19 G (cf. xiv. 29)
20 RD
21-30 RN
31-32 RN
33 (i) RN
(ii) PD
(iii) RN(PD)
34-35 RN
36-38 RN(C)

Chapter xiv.

1 (i) RD + RN
1 (ii) RD
2 (i) RD
(ii) PD
(iii) RN
3 RN
4-5 PD
6 RD(PD)
7 RD
8 PD
9 PD(RD)
10 (i) PD
(ii) RD(PD)
12 (i) RD(PD)
(ii) G (from RN)
13 (i) PD
(ii) G (from RN)
14 PD
15 RN
16-17 RN
18-21 RN
22 P (Here a gloss)
23 RD(C)
24 (i) CA
(ii) RD
25-27 RN
28 (i) RN(C)
(ii) RN
(iii) RD
29-30 RN
31 (i) RN
(ii) RD
(iii) RN

Chapter xv.

1-7 RD
8 (i) RN
(ii) CA
9-15 RN
16 (i) RN
(ii) RD
(iii) G
17 RN
18-19 RD
20 (i) CA (cf. xiii. 16)
(ii) RN
21 RN
22 P
23 RD
24-25 P
26-27 RN

Chapter xvi.

1 RN
2-7 RN

8 RN(C)
9-11 G
12 RN
13 RN(C)
14 RN
15 (i) RD
(ii) G
16-22 RN
23 (i) RN
(ii) RD
24 RN
25 RN(C)
26 G
27 RN
28-29 RN
30 RN(C)
31-32 RN
33 RN

Chapter xvii.

1-11 RN
12 (i) RN
(ii) G
13-26 RN

Chapter xviii.

1 RN(C)
2-5 RN
6 RN(C)
7-8 RN
9 G
10-13 RN
14 G
15-23 RN
24 RN
25-31 RN
32 G
33-37 RN
38 (i) RN
(ii) RN
39-40 RN

Chapter xix.

1-5 RN
6 RN
7 RN
8 RN
9-11 RN
12 RN
13 RN
14 (i) RN
(ii) RN
15-22 RN
23 RN
24 P(C)
25-27 RN
28 RN(C)

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29-30	RN	11	RN(C)	3-4	RN
31-33	RN	12-13	CA (from P)	5	P
34	P	14	RN(C)	6-8	RN
35	RN	15-16	RN	9	RN(P)
36	G	17	RN	10	CA
37	P	18	RN	11	RN + CA
38	RN	19-23	P	12-14	P
39	CA	24-25	P	15	RN(C)
40-41	RN	26-29	P	16-17	RN
42	RN + P	30	P	18	RN
		31	RN	19 (i)	RN
				(ii)	RN
				20-23	RN
				24	RN(C)
				25 (i)	RN
				(ii)	P

Chapter xx.

1-8	RN
9	CA (from P)
10	RN

Chapter xxi.

1	P
2	RN(P)

VERSE INDEX TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

(c) Indicates a verse altered in compilation

Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.	Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.	Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.
	<Mark i. 4-5>				
A.	i. 19-26	H.	v. 2-16	R.	x. 39-42
	i. 27	J.	vii. 14 (c)		xi. 1 (c) [2]
	i. (30)		vii. 19-20		xi. 5
	i. 34		vii. 21 (c)		xi. 3, 4
	i. 28		vii. 22-24		xi. 6-8
B.	i. 43 (c)		vii. 25-27		xi. 11 (c)
	i. 44-50		vii. 30		xi. 12-16
C.	iii. 22-26		vii. 1	S.	xi. 17-22
	iii. 27 (c)	K.	vii. 45[44 G]		xi. 23 (c)
	iii. 28-30		vi. 1-14		xi. 27-29
D.	iv. 1 (c)		vi. 15 (c)		xi. 31
	iv. 3-5	M.	vi. 16-21	T.	xi. 30
	iv. 6 (c)		vi. 22[23 G]		xi. 32-40
	iv. 7		vi. 24-25		xi. 41 (i)
	iv. 9		vi. 26 (c)		xii. < > 28-30
	iv. 16-19		vi. 30 (c)		xi. 41 (ii)
	iv. 21 (c)		iv. 43 (c)		xi. 42 (c)
	iv. 25-30		ii. 12; iv. 46		xi. 43, 44
	iv. 40		(i)	U.	xi. 45, 46
	iv. 39 (c)	N.	x. 1 (c)		xi. 47
	iv. 41		ii. 23 (c)		xi. 48 (c)
	iv. 42 (c)		ii 18-22		xi. 53
E.	iv. 43		viii. 59 (cf. x.		xi. 54
	ii. 1-11		31)	V.	xi. 55-57
F.	iv. 46 (ii)-54	O.	ix. 1-3		xii. 1 (c)
G.	vii. 1-4[5]		ix. 6-15		xii. 9-11
	xiv. 22	P.	ix. 16-38		xii. 12 (c)
	vii. 6 (c)	Q.	ix. 39-41		xii. 13 (c)
	vii. 8 (c)		xii. 39 (c), 40,		xii. 14-18
	vii. 9-10		41		ii. 24 (c)
		Q(a)	x. 19-21		ii. 25 (c)

VERSE INDEX TO THE GOSPEL OF ST. PHILIP

Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.	Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.	Sections of P	Fourth Gospel.
W.	vii. 11-13		vii. < > cf. viii. 31		xxi. 2 (c)
	vii. 31		xv. 22, 24 (c), 25		xxi. 13 (Jesus cometh)
	vii. 32 (i)		xii. 36 (ii)		xxi. 12 (ii)
	vii. 44		xii. 37-42[43]		xxi. 5
	vii. 35 (c)	X.	xx. 19-23		xxi. 12 (i)
	viii. 21		xx. 24-25		xxi. 13
	viii. 22	Y.	xx. 26-29	Epilogue.	xxi. 14
	viii. 24 (c)	Z.	xxi. 1		xx. 30
	vii. 40-43				xxi. 25 (c)

VERSE INDEX TO THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

Sections of RN.	Fourth Gospel	Sections of RN.	Fourth Gospel.	Sections of RN.	Fourth Gospel.
I. i. 6-8			<Mark xiii. 11>		xxi. 19 (ii)
i. 19 (beg.)			xvi. 13		xx. 20 (c)
i. 29			xv. 26 (c)		xx. 21 (c)
i. 15 (c)			xv. 27		xx. 22, 23
1. 31-33			xvi. 4	XII.	xii. 1 (c)
II. i. 35-39			xvi. 5 (c)		xii. 2 (c)
III. i. 43 (beg.)			xvi. 6-7		xii. 3-8
iv. 2			xvi. 8 (c)	XIII.	xii. 12, 13
i. 40-42			<cf. xvi. 11; xii. 31>		vi. 15
IV. Cf. iv. 3			xvi. 10 (c)	XIV.	ii. 13 (c)
iv. 6 (pt.)			xvi. 16-22		ii. 14-16
iv. 8			xvi. 25 (c)		<Matthew xxi. 10, 11>
iv. 27 (pt.)			xvi. 28-29		iv. 39 (c)
iv. 31-34			xvi. 30 (i)		iv. 1 (c)
vi. 27 (pt.)			xiv. 28, 29		iv. 22
vi. 28-29			vi. 63	XV.	xi. 47 (c)
V. iv. 35-38			vi. 64		<Mark xiv. 1-2>
VI. Cf. Mark vi. 1		IX.	vi. 66-69		xi. 48 (c)
vii. 15-17			xvi. 30-32		xi. 49-53 (c)
viii. 28(end)			<cf. Mark xiv. 29>		vii. 50 (c)
vi. 38			vi. 70, 71		vii. 51 (c)
vi. 41-42		X.	vii. 6 (c)	XVI.	<Cf. Luke xiii. 31-33>
vii. 28, 29			vii. 7		xi. 9 (pt.)
vi. 59			vii. 8 (ii)		ix. 4
iv. 44			xv. 18	XVII.	vii. 32
VII. xxi. 2-4			xv. 19 (c)		vii. 44
xxi. 6-8			xv. 16 (end)		vii. 31
xxi. 9 (beg.)			xvi. 24		vii. 45
xxi. 11			xvi. 26 (i)		xi. 47, 48
VIII. <Mark x. 32>			xvi. 27		vi. 46, 48
xvi. 13		XI.	xxi. 15 (c)		xii. 19
xiii. 16			xxi. 16, 17	XVIII.	viii. 20 (i)
xv. 20 (c)			xii. 25		i. 51
xv. 21 (c)			xii. 26 (c)		
xvi. 2-3					

VERSE INDEX TO THE STORY OF THE DISCIPLE

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	iii. 13, 14		<cf. xii. 21>		x. 33
	xii. 34 (i)		xii. 23		viii. 37 (iii)
	vi. 61, 62		xii. 27 (xiv.		xix. 37 (end)
	xii. 34 (ii)		13)		x. 26 (c)
	viii. 28 (i)		xii. 24		viii. 40
	xii. 32, 33		xiv. 1 (i)		x. 34-35
	xii. 36 (ii)		xiv. 2 (iii)		<Luke xxii.
XIX.	vii. 53		xiv. 3		69-71>
	viii. 1		xiv. 28	XXXII.	xviii. 28, 29
	viii. 2 (c)		xvi. 1		xix. 7
	viii. 3-5		xvi. 12, 13		xviii. 31-30
	viii. 6-11		(c)		(c)
XX.	xiii. 1		xvi. 14		xix. 13-9 (c)
	<Mark xiv.		xv. 13		xix. 10, 11
	13-15>		x. 17, 18		xviii. 37 (ii)
	xiii. 2, 3 (c)		xv. 12		xviii. 38
	<Mark xiv.		xv. 9	XXXIII.	xix. 12, 8
	10, 11>		xv. 10 (c)		xviii. 33-36
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	17>		xv. 17		xix. 4, 5 (ii),
	xiii. 4-6		xvi. 23		6 (i)
	xiii. 8 (c)	XXVII.	xvii. 1-5	XXXIV.	xix. 1-3, 5
	xiii. 9		xvii. 6 + 14		(i)
	xiii. 12-15		(i)		xix. 14 (ii),
	xv. 14-15		xvii. 7-10		15
	xiii. 17		xvii. 20-21		xix. 6 (ii)
XXII.	<Mark xiv.		xvii. 13 (c)		xviii. 39, 40
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	14, 20>		xvii. 14		xix. 19-22
	vi. 53 (c)		xvii. 15-19	XXXVI.	xix. 23
	vi. 55, 56		xvii. 22-26		xix. 25-27
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	xiii. 27 (c)		<Luke xxii.		xix. 29, 30
	xiii. 7 (c)		44		<Luke xxiii.
	xiii. 28-30		<Luke xxii.		47
XXIV.	xiii. 31-32		45		Mark xv.
	xiii. 33 (i)		Mark xiv.		39>
	vii. 33		44>	XXXVIII.	xix. 31-33
	xiii. 34, 35	XXIX.	xviii. 2-5		xix. 38
	xiv. 15		xviii. 6 (c)		xix. 40-42
	xiv. 21		xviii. 7, 8	XXXIX.	xx. 1-8, 10
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	xiv. 18		xviii. 12		xx. 14 (c)
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	xiv. 25-27		24		xx. 17 (c)
	xiv. 31 (end)	XXX.	xviii. 15-18		xx. 18.
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	xiii. <37 (i)>		x. 37, 38 (c)		xxi. 25
	xiii. 38		x. 24, 25 (i)		xx. 31
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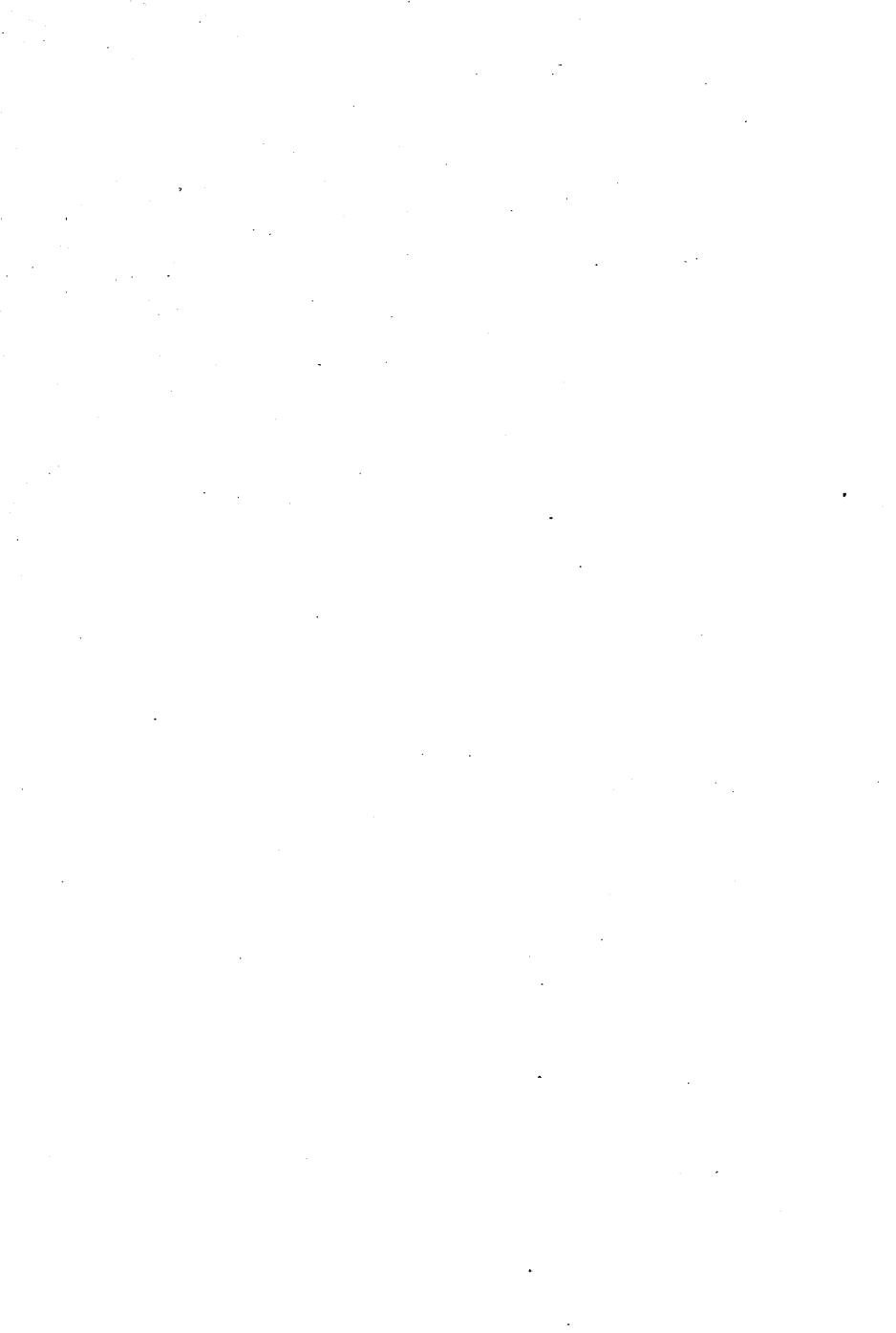
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